SELECTED WORKS OF

POL POT

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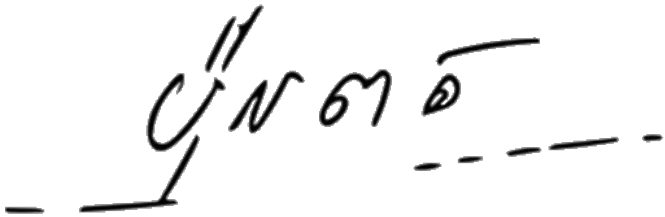

Pol Pot
1925-1998

EDITORIAL PREFACE

This work is intended for historical purposes and preservation only. As contemporary Communists we reject the notion that Pol Pot was representative either of Communism, Socialism, or Marxism. By his own admission, Pol Pot rarely ever read theory and understood very little of it, and this showed in the functions of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Democratic Kampuchea, where human rights abuses flourished, where purges over any minor disagreement were common, where Pol Pot's paranoia and mass murder were widespread.

In fulfilling his non-Marxism, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge would officially reject Marxism outright after Communist nations around them became fed up with the traitor's antics and his constant warmongering with Vietnam.

Pol Pot's stringency and extremity was so great that eventually even attempting to kill his fellow communists. The last of these was poorly calculated and he would later acknowledge was a mistake, but only after it led to him being arrested and placed on trial by the remnants of his own movement.

As such, this selected works is primarily for the purpose of education, elucidation, and research. Communists have sadly allowed only bourgeois and liberal "historians" to tell the story of Democratic Kampuchea and provided no meaningful historical materialist analysis to the tragedies that occurred there. Some supposedly "anti-revisionist" movements even continued siding with Democratic Kampuchea even after the human rights abuses were becoming widely known. Thus, it is essential to understand the writings of Pol Pot, and the writings of the Khmer Rouge in general, and demonstrate (A) their lack of theory, (B) their failure to follow the mass line, and (C) how these led them to ethnic nationalism and genocide. As Nuon Chea and other leaders acknowledged, they actively pursued the ethnic cleansing of Vietnamese people in Cambodia; though they denied the mass deaths of Cambodians but it is difficult to see how these did not occur. Even in their own accounts, Khieu Samphan

acknowledged at least 10,000 Cambodians were executed as early as 1980.[1] In the same statements, Khieu also declared his interest in getting United States backing against Vietnam, making it clear they were just opportunists.[2]

Elucidation is the purpose in publishing this work today. This project was made possible due to Marxists.org, BannedThought.net, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia digital archives (which has declassified many unknown Pol Pot writings), and lastly the Public Democratic Kampuchea Archive. The previous selected works published by Thomas Petkov is critically defective, containing numerous errors obviously because he just copy-pasted bad OCR'ed bits of various speeches and then did minimal editing. This edition is far more comprehensive, and also we have paid closer attention to the need to edit these works accordingly for book form.

Likewise, Petkov did not have the decency to publish the volume so that it would fit in size and shape with other such selected works published by Foreign Languages Press, Germinal, etc., which meant that there was no way it could sit comfortably with one's collections of Mao, Haywood, Gonzalo, etc. Perhaps the most unforgiveable is that Petkov, an apologist for the revisionist Pol Pot, obscured the reality that Pol Pot had sided with the Chinese capitalist roaders, betrayed the Gang of Four, and in that moment in 1977 revealed himself to be a traitor to the socialist revolution. He also obscures that Pol Pot continued a close relationship with Deng Xiaoping as well. Petkov clearly omitted the speech which Pol Pot gave in 1977 to Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, congratulating them and declaring his allegiance to them. Additionally, he omitted excerpts from printed letters sent by Pol Pot to Vietnam and other places from as early as 1974, which would have further cast aspersions on Pol Pot and Democratic Kampuchea's anti-Vietnamese nationalism, and the aggression they ushered toward their neighbor often *unprompted*.

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[1] "Inside a secret Khmer Rouge base," *The Call* 9, no. 11 (17 March 1980), https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-5/cpml-kamp-base.htm.
[2] Ibid.

As such, we can see that Petkov's "selected works" was either incompetent or a reactionary coverup, meant to deceive good communists into agreeing with the revisionism and opportunism of Pol Pot. To correct the record and demonstrate the clear inferiority of Petkov's edition, therefore, we have endeavored to create a more competent selected works, including an excerpt from the last of Pol Pot's interviews after the fall of Democratic Kampuchea, and not to shy away from any quote, letter, transcript, or report of his words from reliable sources. Petkov's edition is simply useless to a good, meaningful, and honest Marxist historian, but his obscurantism is now rectified by this more complete volume. Characteristic of a poor editor, Petkov's edition fails to mention when he crops off the ending of articles, and similar as well (which he does frequently).

Instead, you will see here that Democratic Kampuchea had no real Communist leadership. Instead, the minute Mao Zedong's body was lifeless and his blood had turned cold, Pol Pot sided with the capitalist roaders, traitors, and later in his final interviews he stated that when the Khmer Rouge denounced Communism soon after the Vietnamese had overthrown them, that they meant it (it was no "tactic"). That since the people demanded it, they followed. Thus, he conveys that they betrayed Communism in the desperate hope of having dictatorial power.

Because of Petkov's revisionism, history denial, and obscuring of reality, as well as poor editorial practices, all of his work has been double checked here as much as we can (being short staffed). We will continue to look over this work and correct errors and make updates, and likewise we will endeavor to add more of the works of Pol Pot as they become available, thus, expect future editions. Unlike Petkov we will not perform pseudo-intellectual apologetic attempts to obscure the facts and present Pol Pot in a better light.

It is our commitment to ensuring that we are bringing forth the most comprehensive work possible to educate our comrades. We will not fail like Petkov and other revisionist obscurantists have. They will be defeated, and the correct line will be followed. Long live the Revolution, and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Any errors remaining are our own. The edits made to the texts are all minor. We have only changed formatting on occasion, and then also made some spelling updates, as many of these were typewritten documents and included the fat-fingering of a sloppy typist, or are written very unclearly. We encourage readers to look at the original documents if they are suspicious at any point and verify we have not in any way altered meaningfully any of these texts.

—Red Justice Staff
Ann Arbor, MI
23 Sept. 2025

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SELECTED WORKS OF
POL POT

MONARCHY OR DEMOCRACY? (August 1952)

From *Khmer Student* (August 1952)[3]

On June 15, 1952, S.M. Norodom Sihanouk dissolved the government and, at the same time, threatened to dissolve the People's Assembly if it opposed the takeover. This royal coup stirred the whole country and makes us, the citizens, think about its causes.

Certainly, the constitution gives the King the power to dissolve the government, but this coup is an act of injustice because the King flouted democratic rights and committed an act of contempt for the elected assembly which legally represents the people. If the King really cares about the interests of the nation, the security of the people, as he often says in his speeches, he should not carry out this royal coup by force. You should have brought the government together to find the best means of driving out the French army and the accomplices of the French, in order to achieve direct independence for the country. The King should have allied with the Assembly. Why?

History shows us that only the Assembly and democratic rights can grant a few breaths of freedom to the Khmer people, like, for example, at the time of Prince Youthevong. When there is no longer the Assembly, the country will immediately be bound. In 1949, the reigning King allied with Yem Sambaur and our country was, at that time, bound by a treaty with France which will continue to remain for a very long time in Cambodia.

The Khmer people remember this story and do not forget it; only those who think only of their personal interests can forget it. This coup d'etat of June 15 shows us that we are not at all under the reign of a constitutional monarchy, but rather under a regime of absolute monarchy. The King is absolute; he seeks to destroy the interests of the people when they are in a position of weakness; he is concerned that the more educated a people, the easier it becomes to see the faults

[3] This was a Kampuchean student journal.

of kings. The absolute king uses good words, but his heart remains wicked; he uses demagoguery to deceive the people.

I. What is Monarchy?

It is a doctrine that entrusts power to a small group of individuals who have high professional situations, so that they can exploit the majority of other social classes. Monarchy is an unjust doctrine, as infectious as a putrid plague. Humanity must abolish it. The monarchy is an absolute doctrine which exists only through nepotism. Its faults are numerous.

1. The monarchy is the enemy of the people. History shows us that since our country has existed, we have always been dominated and exploited by the monarchy. The condition of the people is degraded to that of the animal; the people, who are considered a herd of slaves, are forced to work tirelessly, night and day, to feed the absolute monarchy and its harem of courtiers.

2. The monarchy is the enemy of religion. The people believe that religion is their friend, that is why they have respect and place it above Man. But since ancient times, the monarchy uses demagoguery by making the people believe that it also represents religion, that it respects the Ten Royal Virtues. To convince the people and exploit them more easily, the monarchy had the poets compose the legend of Preah Leak Chinavong, according to which the king always had the right to life and death over the people. But the enlightened monks have always understood the nature of the monarchy very well and have found ways to explain to the people that it should not be trusted. They composed the story of Themh Chey to show that a child of the people, Them Chay, can defeat an ignorant king; Themh Chay dares to oppose the crown. The monarchy destroyed the Buddhist religion by other means, for example by dividing the monks into several groups, creating a higher rank, that of the Samdech (Lord).

3. The monarchy is a friend of colonialism. The history that we look at, since our country has been under French domination, the Khmer kings are moving away more and more from the Khmer people. Their designation, to access the throne, falls under French authority. Thus, the reigning king is only a pawn of the colonialists, allying with them to preserve his crown and the monarchy. There are always struggles for the throne. Prince Youkanthor was created by the French who entrusted the throne to H.M. Sisowath; There are many struggles of this kind.

4. The monarchy is the enemy of knowledge. She uses all means so that people are uneducated so as to believe that the King is the Supreme Being. When a people is educated, it becomes the virulent enemy of the monarchy and it desperately wants its abolition. Here are some examples:

> Our great master Buddha was very educated; he soon realized that his father, King Suthotana (Sanskrit: *Soddhodana*) was unjustly enriched, leaving the people to languish in ignorance, disease, famine, homeless, without schools, without hospitals. Buddha then decided to abandon the monarchy to become the friend of Man and people, by teaching men to love each other.
>
> Prince Youthevong, very educated, also abandoned the monarchists to instill democracy in the Khmer people.

II. What is a Democracy?

It is a regime that entrusts power to a majority from the people. Thus, democracy is totally contrary to the monarchy. These two regimes are enemies and cannot coexist, as the royal coup of June 15 proves.

History shows that these two regimes always oppose each other, and that peace cannot be established until the monarchy is gone. The 1789 revolution in France, under the leadership of

Robespierre and Danton, dissolved the monarchy and executed King Louis XVI.

The 1917 revolution in Russia, with Lenin and Stalin as guides, completely abolished the monarchy. The revolution of 1924 in China, the people being under the direction of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, abolished the monarchy and the whole imperial family.

The monarchy is a regime that the peoples of all countries now adopt; it is as precious as diamonds and cannot be compared to any other regime.

This is why the Khmer people sing: "The democratic regime in today's world is like a river that descends from the mountains, following plants, that no one obstruct […]." The democratic regime is part of Buddhist morality, because our great master Buddha was the first to have taught it. Thus, only the democratic regime can safeguard the deep value of Buddhism.

III. The Royal Coup

It is not the first time that H.M. Norodom Sihanouk has abused the will of the Khmer people. We can see that, when the people are weak and let themselves go, the King takes the opportunity to scorn the constitution, as happened in 1949 when he tried to camouflage his absolutism. But, no longer able to camouflage himself, he took, on June 15, the unjust decision to carry out a coup, in defiance even of his monarchist friends, some of whom are in prison.

The question that arises is what force does the king rely on to carry out the coup?

1. This coup is the result of French colonial power. The proof is found in the royal speech of June 4, at the meeting of the Council of the Kingdom. We note the following passages: "I (the king) recently met Mr. Vincent Auriol, he entrusted me with the affairs of H.E. Son Ngoc Thanh […] Recently also, Mr. Letourneau shared my opinion and told me has promised to lighten certain clauses if a future government (Khmer) was ready to repress the resistance fighters (Issarak) and to

soften these clauses once the war has ended." In the royal message to the people, the king declared that "we can count on the help that our French and American allies bring to us." All this clearly proves that this coup was supported by French colonialism.

2. The coup is the work of the monarchy. Other evidence can be found in the royal messages: "Having inherited this monarchy which dates from sixteen centuries, to govern the people […]." (Message to students). "By my duties as king, by my responsibility before the fatherland, before the people, before history and before my ancestors who bequeathed me this national monarchy […]." (Message to the nation). "Even if I have to become a simple citizen, I will always defend the monarchy." (King's speech to students in Paris). All these King's speeches prove that the coup was solely in the royal interest.

IV. The Government

S.M. Norodom Sihanouk is the head of the government resulting from the coup. The other ministers are courtiers who know nothing about politics and ignore the misfortunes of the people. Everyone must think carefully about the fate of the Khmer people who no longer even have the freedom to hold a meeting of more than four people.

V. The Government Program

The speeches of the king clearly show that the program of the new government for the period of three years when the king will hold absolute power, is divided into two parts:

1. In the first two years, wage war against the insurgents (the national patriots).

2. In the third year, negotiate with France, which promises to grant full independence. Such a program aims only to gag the

people, to arrest and expel those who dare to oppose the policy of the King. Second, it aims to dissolve political parties that oppose the interests of the throne, because political parties do not remain silent. Finally, the king's policy is to provoke a civil war which will burn everything, even the pagodas. The monks, the people, the civil servants will experience painful family separations, they will see their parents, their wives and their children crushed by the tanks, burned by napalm; the crops will be destroyed. The colonialist army, which the absolute monarchy has already called to the rescue, has already committed acts of looting and violence against women... In the administration, the colonialists will be the masters, as before. The question then arises of who will be the winner of the first two years of this destructive war. Supposing that the monarchy succeeds in suppressing the national patriots, the question is whether, in the third year, Cambodia appeals for help from Siam, it will have to pay homage to Siam, and if the King, who appeals for help from France, will have to pay homage to France. Thus, King Norodom Sihanouk who appealed to France, must let the colonialists link Cambodia to France by treaties which will allow them to dominate Cambodia forever.

LETTER TO CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE (6 October 1967)

Excerpts from Matt Galaway, "From the Claws of the Tiger to the Jaws of the Crocodile," MA Thesis (University of Ottawa, 2010), 6–7. Also printed by Philip Short.

We have reached an important turning point. We have mastered how to undertake the revolution in our country […] Our past experiences, notably […] in using political violence and, in part, armed violence, from the end of 1966 to the middle of 1967 have convinced us that organizationally and ideologically our people are ready […] to launch a true people's war. We are now exerting leadership in the country as a whole.

POL POT TO LE DUC THO (4 March 1974)

From *Kampuchea Dossier* (Hanoi: Vietnam Courier, 1978), 65.

In all sincerity and from the bottom of my heart, I can assure you that in all circumstances, I will remain faithful to the line of great solidarity and fraternal and revolutionary friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam, whatever difficulties and adversities we may encounter.

POL POT TO LE DUC THO (25 January 1975)

From *Kampuchea Dossier* (Hanoi: Vietnam Courier, 1978), 66.

The multifarious aid given by yourself, by the Vietnam Workers' Party and the brotherly Vietnamese people have greatly contributed to our repeated victories. We consider them as an expression of our very great and very noble feelings of militant solidarity and revolutionary brotherhood.

POL POT TALKING WITH NGUYEN VAN LINH (2 June 1975)

From *Kampuchea Dossier* (Hanoi: Vietnam Courier, 1978), 67.

In a talk with Nguyen Van Linh, representing the VWP,[4] Pol Pot. Secretary of the CPR, says that the Kampuchean troops' "ignorance of local geography was the cause of these painful bloody clashes" with the Vietnamese.[5]

[4] Editors Note: Vietnamese Workers Party.

[5] Editors: On 4–10 May 1975, Kampuchean forces invaded and attacked several Vietnamese areas, including Phu Quoc Island, and other areas of Vietnamese territory, kidnapping around 515 people in Tho Chu Island. Thus, we can see even as early 1975 that Communist Party of Kampuchea was already an aggressing force against the Vietnamese and their claims to be innocent were false.

INTERVIEW WITH TRAN THANH XUAN, VICE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF VIET NAM NEWS AGENCY (20 July 1976)

From *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 7 (1977): 418–22.[6]

Question: Could you give us some idea of the overall situation in Democratic Kampuchea since the complete liberation of your country and how you appraise it.

Pol Pot: As you know, we had many big problems in Kampuchea after liberation. Firstly, there was the problem of safeguarding the revolutionary gains, maintaining security throughout the country and, in the matter of national defence, preventing the US imperialists and their lackeys from regaining power and undermining the revolutionary gains. Secondly, we had to take urgent steps to supply the people with necessities. These are two post-war problems which we must try our hardest to solve.

On the first problem, the US imperialists and their henchmen worked out a plan to counter the Kampuchean revolution in every way after the complete liberation of Kampuchea. We have captured documents proving that they schemed to let the revolution succeed and then to seize power from the revolution six months later. They schemed to attack Phnom Penh and other places with military force, to sabotage our economy and food supplies to cause difficulties for the people, and incite them to rise up against the revolution. But all these schemes and plans of the US imperialists and their henchmen have met with repeated failures. So far, we have been able to preserve the revolutionary gains, and maintain public order and security in the whole country. So far, there have been no grave security problems and the situation remains very calm throughout the country. This is yet another setback for the US imperialists and their servants. In other words, their schemes and plans of sabotaging our revolution and our

[6] Editors: We have reformatted it to be more conducive to book-length reading but otherwise it is printed as found in the journal article.

country have been repelled step by step and are now completely crushed. In our view, the ability of the US imperialists and their lackeys to come back and regain power and destroy our revolutionary gains is now much slimmer than before. Nonetheless, we must maintain high revolutionary vigilance. The second problem is to ensure the people's living standard after liberation. During the five years of war, our national economy was heavily damaged. The means of production, especially agricultural implements and draught animals, were destroyed to a large extent. So were our factories. This situation posed serious problems. This was a very difficult post-war situation. Moreover, we had to take care of millions of people leaving Phnom Penh and other newly liberated towns for the countryside. We had to solve this problem at all costs, and we have solved it. The dry season was drawing to a close and the rainy season of 1975 was about to set in when we achieved the complete liberation of our country. We had to overcome numerous obstacles to organize agricultural production, especially to complete the cultivation of terrace fields in time. Farm work in Kampuchea could not begin until late May and early June and in spite of shortages in many fields, especially of farm tools, thanks to the spirit of the people and revolutionary army, the will to overcome all difficulties, we had solved this problem by the end of 1975. When harvest time came we obtained the necessary amount of food which, though not abundant, created favourable conditions for us to start the 1976 plan. In 1976, the situation improved. We have made special efforts to produce enough food for the people. As far as we can see, bright prospects are before us this year.

With regard to the people's living conditions, and the questions of food, housing, and farming, the situation has improved compared with 1975. But we still have to strive much harder to meet the needs of the people.

In short, the overall situation is stable and is progressing step by step. We firmly believe that, thanks to this gradual improvement, we will make still greater progress in the days to come.

Question: Could you please tell us about the achievements recorded by the Kampuchean people in various fields since complete liberation. Where will you direct your future efforts and what are their prospects?

Pol Pot: We have made progress in all fields, but these are only initial and gradual steps. So far, we have made no great achievements. The first result, which is also our prime concern, is the broad mass movement working for economic rehabilitation after many years of war devastation and for reorganization for the gradual reconstruction of the country. In terms of material achievements, such as factories, grain output, cultural activities, etc., our performances have been modest, but we are very pleased with the development of the revolutionary movement of the masses. To our mind, if we can generate a stirring mass movement, there will be bright prospects for economic rehabilitation and steady national construction. As revolutionaries, we firmly believe in the revolutionary movement of the people. We have made practical progress in the following aspects:

In agriculture: In the specific conditions of our country, we regard agriculture, as the basis of our economy and in agriculture, we give prime attention to the problem of food supplies for the people, including rice, maize and other crops. Proceeding from this position, we have launched a movement to grow water paddy as well as hillside rice with the aim of ensuring food supplies for the people and also exchanging rice for raw materials and other goods. That is why we have attached great importance to rice cultivation since 1975. Still lacking machinery at present, we have to dig ditches and canals for irrigation.

We plan to build a system of ditches and canals for the plains to secure water for about one and a half-million hectares. So far, we have achieved one third of this program. However, even with this 30 per cent, we are not yet able to secure water in all circumstances. Instead we still have to rely partly on irrigation canals with pumping stations. If a network of effective rice-field boundaries and irrigation

canals can be built, we can retain much of the rain water. At present, we are launching a real offensive in rice cultivation. What the result will be this year, we dare not say for sure, but we will do all we can. Thus, in the domain of agriculture, although we have not yet obtained significant results in terms of figures, we already have a vigorous movement. We still have to overcome many more obstacles.

As for rubber production, we have been striving to restore plantations and produce rubber for export. On foreign markets, people do not buy raw latex but only rubber latex already processed into crepe. We lack rubber-processing factories. We have the necessary work force to tend rubber trees and collect latex, but there must be crepe-making factories. In the past five years of war, all our crepe factories were destroyed by the enemy. In the colonial days, we had very few crepe factories. Liquid latex was exported, but to do so required high techniques of transport both on land and by sea. We have not yet mastered these techniques.

That is why we must build crepe factories. So far, we have restored a number of crepe-making factories and we plan to export 20,000 tons of crepe this year. This is feasible because we have already achieved more than half of our program. Our crepe factories are combining semi-rudimentary and handicraft methods of production.

As for the other industrial establishments, we have only concentrated on repair and restoration and have built no new factories since 1975. So far almost all these establishments have been restored and most of them have been put into operation. Under the old regime, all the factories depended on foreign countries for raw materials. We are striving to solve the question of raw materials for our factories step by step. We are first of all concerned with those factories catering for the people's needs and for agricultural production.

Our orientation in this field is to consolidate and perfect these factories, and we do not plan to build other factories. At the same time, we pay attention to handicraft production and to trades catering for the daily life of the people such as the weaving of textiles, towels,

mosquitos netting, blankets, and the making of soya sauce and fish sauce.

In culture: We are especially concerned about the eradication of illiteracy. As for secondary and higher education, we are not yet able to do much because our main concern at present is to ensure that within two or three years our entire people can read, write and calculate. In the past, although the old regime built many colleges and universities, the rural population was left illiterate.

That is why we regard the elimination of illiteracy as the most important task. Today, in our country, children go to school, adults go to school, and old people also go to school, and they study full-time day and night, and in between work hours as well.

We also give attention to technical schools. In Phnom Penh as well as in other regions, areas and provinces, we have built technical schools to train a contingent of technicians. By techniques, we mean applied techniques. We build workshops for each branch where students learn while doing practical work. This is how we learn techniques. We cannot wait until the students have finished general education before sending them to technical schools because this does not suit the practical conditions of our country. This is because generally speaking, the bulk of our people, our workers and peasants, still have a low cultural standard. In particular, the majority of our peasants are illiterate. Therefore, we think that learning techniques and improving the general cultural standards at the same time, and combining theory with practice, can help promote the movement step by step.

On health and social affairs: Our prime concern is to eradicate malaria. As far as we know, more than 80 per cent of our work force was affected by malaria in the past. Often during the busiest days of farm work, especially during the harvests, when the wind blew, many people shivered with malaria and could hardly work. We have built more hospitals and dispensaries, and trained a sizeable number of medical workers during and after the war. However, generally

speaking their standard is still low. At present, all our co-operative farms already have their own dispensaries, but their medical knowledge is still low and medical supplies are still inadequate. We have been producing a good deal of traditional medicines, but their efficiency is still low. We will continue to raise the quality of our medicines according to scientific norms. We cannot yet import large quantities of medicines. However, we have made some progress in the social and medical fields compared with the prewar period as well as compared with 1975.

In short we have not yet achieved any noteworthy results except a revolutionary movement of the masses. Through this movement we have obtained some preliminary results and made some progress compared with 1975. But the needs and demands of the people remain numerous and require us to make more effort.

We emerged from the war with virtually only our bare hands intact. That is why we had to make considerable efforts. But the results obtained since then are only initial steps. We believe that the situation will improve because we have an ardent revolutionary movement of the masses. Our revolution relies on the people, and we believe that once such a movement has arisen among the people, progress is certain.

Our course of action is to strive in all fields, especially in agriculture, in the production of rice and other essential food-crops. We will strive to solve this problem as soon as possible.

This is also the way in which to strengthen and develop the revolutionary forces of the masses. After having achieved success in ideological and cultural education and in organization, we must also solve problems of the people's daily life so as to take the movement vigorously forward.

Question: How do you value the fraternity, friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of Kampuchea and Viet Nam?

Pol Pot: We consider that the friendship and solidarity between the Kampuchean revolution and the Vietnamese revolution, between

Kampuchea and Viet Nam, is both a strategic question and a sacred feeling. Only when this friendship and solidarity is strong can the revolution in our two countries develop satisfactorily. There is no alternative. Proceeding from these principles, we hold that both sides, and we personally, must strive to preserve this militant solidarity and this companionship-in-arms, strengthen and enhance it with each passing day.

Whatever obstacles and difficulties may arise we will continue to stand firmly on this position. For a long time the revolution in our two countries has been conducted in the fight against our common enemies, and in this process we have built mutual understanding and mutual revolutionary affection which has become ever steadier.

Concerning the relationship between the Vietnamese leaders and ourselves it is marked by friendly sentiments and mutual understanding. Therefore, the friendship and solidarity between the revolutions and peoples of our two countries not only stem from political reasons but are also built on very friendly sentiments. Experiences of the past decades show that it is thanks to this solidarity that we have defeated the imperialists and their henchmen, and particularly US imperialism. Therefore, we think that in the future we will have to further strengthen and develop this friendship and solidarity. We should make full use of this experience, no matter what obstacles may arise.

We take this opportunity to reaffirm that we are delighted with the successes recorded by the Vietnamese revolution and the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, especially the recent success of the complete reunification of Viet Nam. This is not only an historic event for the Vietnamese people but also a major world event.

On this occasion, we wish to extend, through you, comrade head delegate and all the other members of the delegation, our warmest revolutionary respect to the Vietnamese leaders and the Vietnamese people who are both our friends and brothers, and we

wish the Vietnamese people still greater success in their noble revolutionary tasks.

We also take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese people—who are both our friends and brothers—and who have given us constant support and assistance.

SPEECH AT A COMMEMORATIVE MEETING FOR MAO ZEDONG (13 September 1976)

From *Peking Review*, no. 41 (1976)[7]

With most profound sorrow and a cherished memory, we are gathering here for a mass rally to express our revolutionary feelings of immense esteem and respect for the lofty soul of His Excellency, Chairman Mao Zedong, the respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people—our brotherly comrades-in-arms—an outstanding teacher of the international proletariat and the world's oppressed nations and oppressed people, and a close and enthusiastic comrade-in-arms of the Kampuchean people.

The life of His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong was a life of profound significance in fierce revolutionary struggle, a life devoted to the liberation cause of the Chinese people, to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations and oppressed people, to the cause of the international proletariat and to the struggle for the cause of socialism and communism in China and the world.

These great victories were the outcome of the implementation by the Chinese Communist Party of the proletarian revolutionary line under the firm leadership of His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong.

The Chinese Revolution under the wise and correct leadership of His Excellency Chairman Mao produced rich experience which has set the best and most valuable example for the contemporary world revolutionary movement after Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong summed up the experience to make it classical literature of Marxism-Leninism, namely, Mao Zedong Thought, which is most valuable for the Chinese and world revolution of our time and in the future. His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong's works, *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, *On Protracted War*, *On Contradiction*, *On Practice*, *On New Democracy*, *On the*

[7] Editors: We have updated some of the spelling of names; otherwise the speech is untouched from how previously published.

People's Democratic Dictatorship and On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People and his theses on the building of rural revolutionary base areas, on the role of the countryside and the city in revolutionary struggle, on people's war, on China's revolutionary art and literature, on the Great Cultural Revolution and on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction have successfully gone through repeated thesis in the revolutionary movements in China and the world, in the people's national liberation struggle and in socialist revolution and socialist construction. These works are illustrious Marxist-Leninist literature and are immortal.

His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong performed magnificent exploits for the Chinese nation and the whole world. He was an eminent teacher in the international revolutionary movement after Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The passing of His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong is an extremely grievous loss to the revolutionary organization, the people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

The Kampuchean people will never forget the most extraordinary sentiments and lofty spirit of internationalism His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong showed for the Kampuchean revolution and people. The Kampuchean people boundlessly esteem and whole-heartedly admire his noble and exemplary revolutionary life and noble revolutionary qualities. With most profound revolutionary and brotherly sentiments and with deepest grief, the Kampuchean people pay homage to the lofty soul of His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong.

As the Kampuchean revolutionary organization and the Communist Party of China as well as the people of the two countries base themselves firmly on Marxism-Leninism and on the principles of genuine equality, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Kampuchean revolutionary organization and the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and His Excellency

Chairman Mao Zedong have consolidated and developed the great, splendid and solid militant unity and brotherly revolutionary friendship between the Kampuchean revolutionary organization and the Communist Party of China and between the people of the two countries. It is precisely because of this solid basis that there exists between the 8 million Kampuchean people and the 800 million Chinese people splendid revolutionary unity and friendship.

The Kampuchean revolutionary organization, the Kampuchean people, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army will continue to stand firm on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and adhere to the principled stand of equality, mutual respect, respect for sovereignty and independence, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, consolidate and develop the great militant unity and great revolutionary brotherhood between the Kampuchean revolutionary organization and the Communist Party of China and between the people of the two countries, and make them even more splendid.

Although His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong has left the Chinese people and the oppressed people of the world, his name and his revolutionary thought will always be a beacon for the Chinese revolution and world revolution just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are beacons guiding the road of revolution.

In this moment of boundless sorrow and memory the Kampuchean revolutionary organization, the Kampuchean people, the People's Congress of Kampuchea, the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army extend with deepest revolutionary affection the most profound condolences to the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and our fraternal comrades-in-arms—the Chinese people.

Eternal glory to His Excellency Chairman Mao Zedong, the respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people, an outstanding teacher of the world revolutionary movement and a close and enthusiastic comrade-in-arms of the Kampuchean people!

WORDS OF CONDOLENCE UPON THE DEATH OF MAO ZEDONG, EXCERPT (18 September 1976)[8]

From *Peking Review* 19, no. 40 (30 Sept 1976): 20–21.

On behalf of the Kampuchean revolutionary organization, the Kampuchean people, the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea, the Permanent Committee of the People's Congress of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, we have come to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China with extreme grief and regret to extend our boundless revolutionary affection and esteem to the memory of the sublime soul of Chairman Mao Zedong, the esteemed and beloved great leader of the Chinese people—our fraternal comrades-in-arms—the outstanding teacher of the world proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, and the closest and most warmhearted comrade-in-arms of the Kampuchean people.

Though Chairman Mao Zedong has left the Chinese people and the oppressed people of the world, his name and Mao Zedong Thought will live forever in the hearts of the revolutionary people of China and the oppressed people of the world.

[8] Editors: This was taken from Petkov's edition and was reportedly a phone-call made shortly after Mao's death.

LONG LIVE THE 17TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA (1977)

From Group of Kampuchean Residents in America in New York in 1977.[9]

Respected and beloved comrades representing the workers' collectives, Respected and beloved comrades representing the peasants' collectives, Respected and beloved comrades representing the three branches of the Revolutionary Army, Land, Sea and Air, Respected and beloved comrades representing all government ministries and departments:

We are gathered here today to honor the Seventeenth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. I take this occasion to extend my greetings to the entire collectivist working class, which has waged and is waging the struggle everywhere—at every workplace, on every front—to contribute to the national defense, the building up of the country, and the raising of the people's living standard, all toward carrying out, with a high sense of revolutionary responsibility, the glorious task which the Party has entrusted to them.

At this great meeting, I address my deep greetings to the collectivist peasant class, the members of the cooperatives throughout the country, who, as they have done in the past, are today zealously struggling to realize the objectives of the rice production plan.

With a strong sense of responsibility and with the aim of contributing to the national defense, to the building up of the country, and to the rapid raising of the standard of living of the people, the peasants are carrying out this plan, which the Party entrusted to them in 1977.

[9] Editors: This was a translation prepared by the Group of Kampuchean Residents in America in New York in 1977. The date of 29 Sept 1977 given by the GKRam must be wrong because the speech in question could not have been delivered as Pol Pot was in Beijing at the time of this supposed speech.

Let me extend warmest and most profound greetings to the Revolutionary Army, which has struggled and continues to struggle to surmount every obstacle on every front, even in our most remote areas, in order to defend the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our Democratic Kampuchea. They do this with a strong sense of revolutionary responsibility, thus making an important contribution to the building up of the country and to the rapid raising of the living standard of the people.

I address my profound greetings to all the comrades of the revolutionary government ministries and departments, who, as in the past, are today surmounting all difficulties and concentrating all their efforts to carry out the revolutionary tasks which the Party has entrusted to them, in order to make their contribution to national defense, construction of the country, and to the rapid raising of the people's living standard. I must express my deepest respect for all these comrades because, as in the past, at present and in the future, it is and will be our Revolutionary Army, our working class, our peasantry, our comrades in the revolutionary government ministries and departments, who, united in a single force, assure the defense of our sacred national territory, are building our new Kampuchea, and raising the standard of living of our people by following the slogan: "To progress by great leaps and bounds!"

This year, the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of our Party will be marked by an exceptional event that I will now officially make known to you. In commemorating the Seventeenth Anniversary of its founding, our Party has decided to solemnly proclaim, before our country and the whole world, the official existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Our people of all social classes and strata already know that it is the Communist Party of Kampuchea which is the sole genuine leadership of the Kampuchean revolution. Moreover, our people know perfectly well that, in order for successive revolutionary victories, culminating in the great victory of April 17, 1975, to have been possible, the leadership of the CPK was necessary. All the social classes and strata of our people, especially the workers, peasants and

other revolutionaries, have learned to know and to appreciate the Communist Party of Kampuchea for many years, even if we had not proclaimed its existence officially. Because, for a long period of 17 years, our Party did not make its existence public, the entire Kampuchean people, especially the poor strata, waited impatiently for the solemn proclamation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. They waited in order to praise the merits of the Party, which has made sacrifices in order to lead the people and the revolution of Kampuchea, and to liberate the nation and people.

This is why we are convinced that, from this time on, all the Kampuchean people will make the country ring with praise for the correct and clear-sighted Communist Party of Kampuchea, and they will increase the support they have always given to what they knew only as the "Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea." Everywhere, in the most remote areas, in the depths of the forests and on the mountains, across the plains and in the towns, the solemn proclamation of the Party will be greeted with cheers of joy.

Our friends around the world also know that no people in the world has won a revolution without being led by a working class party. Why then, in Kampuchea, where the people won victory upon victory until the greatest victory over U.S. imperialism, leader of world imperialism, had they never heard mention of the leadership of a communist party? Thus, all these friends have also awaited the solemn proclamation of the official existence of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in order to praise it and the great victory won by the Party, which led the Kampuchean people to the glorious victory of April 17, 1975.

On the occasion of the official proclamation of the existence of our Party, all our people will be greatly elated. Our friends far and near on the five continents will warmly acclaim it, while the imperialists and reactionaries will be most bitter at the prestige and power of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The celebration of this Seventeenth Anniversary of our Party is, then, a historic moment for our nation, our people, our revolution and our Communist Party of Kampuchea. This is why, on this

occasion, we must honor the memory of all the heroes and heroines from among all the people, the entire Revolutionary Army, and all the members of our Party. These comrades have endured every hardship, made sacrifice after sacrifice for the full liberation of Kampuchea, to make our country 100% independent; to totally liberate the people.

In honoring the memory of all these comrades and heroes who laid down their lives, moved by noble patriotic feelings, with lofty revolutionary spirit and deep and noble feelings of love and devotion to the people and to the working class, we all pledge ourselves to find inspiration in their noble example, to show our gratitude to them, to be their worthy successors and to accomplish the noble tasks that the Party has entrusted to each of us. We all resolve to turn our sorrows, our anger, and our grief for the loss of these valiant comrades-in-arms into a strength ever more vigorous. We do this in order to fight to accomplish the tasks of the Party, with a heightened sense of revolutionary responsibility, an ardent patriotism, and a profound devotion to the people and to the working class, both in 1977 and in the years to come. It is with the resolve to learn from the example of our comrades in-arms who have passed away, that I propose, on the occasion of the celebration of the Party's Seventeenth Anniversary, the following theme for our great meeting today: let us contemplate and learn from the revolutionary movement of the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and learn from our people's movement of revolutionary struggle, which, in the course of the preceding generations, fought for national liberation, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, in order to save the Kampuchean nation and to ensure its survival, so that Kampuchea will never again lose any territory, as it did before, in the era when the various exploiting classes were in power, when it lost some every year, every instant.

To make it easier to understand, my talk will be divided into three sections:

> The first part deals with the struggle of the Kampuchean people before the founding of the Party, from the period of

slavery to 1960, the year of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The second part deals with the national democratic revolution led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea, from 1960 to 1975.

The third part deals with the new stage of the Kampuchean revolution, the defense of Democratic Kampuchea, continuation of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The three parts, which I have just enumerated, outline the history of the revolutionary movement of our people, from its beginnings up to today. Our aim is to give a general idea of our revolutionary movement. We will not go into the problems in detail, in their many aspects, but we are going to stick to explaining what, in our view, is at the root of our victories, It is because we have elaborated a strategy and tactics for our movement, because we have summed up our experiences in the course of our work, and because we have established throughout our struggle a correct line on political questions, on the building up of our forces, on military and economic questions, that we have won our victories. An examination of the various aspects of our movement, from its beginnings up to the present day, will show whether or not the Communist Party of Kampuchea is really a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, whether it is a genuine proletarian party. All the comrades will be able to make their own evaluations, based on the substance of our revolutionary movement.

These are questions which must be raised. Therefore, this meeting is not only held for a moment, after which you can go back and carry out your normal tasks. This meeting is one in which we must all examine, judge and study the experiences of our revolutionary movement under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Allow me to present to you the first part of the speech dealing with the movements of struggle of the Kampuchean people before the birth of the Party, from the era of slavery to 1960.

The Struggle of the Kampuchean People,
from the slave period to 1960

These are questions which must be raised. Therefore, this meeting is not only held for a moment, after which you can go back and carry out your normal tasks. This meeting is one in which we must all examine, judge and study the experiences of our revolutionary movement under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea. Allow me to present to you the first part of the speech dealing with the movements of struggle of the Kampuchean people before the birth of the Party, from the era of slavery to 1960.

Within the framework of primitive communism, there were not yet any classes. Consequently, there was no class struggle. When Kampuchean society entered the slave period, it divided into classes: a class of slave owners and a class of slaves. In feudal society, there were landlords and peasants. In capitalist society, there were the capitalists and the workers. This is the real essence of each society that our country has known.

During the slave period, the feudal period and the capitalist period, particularly during the feudal-capitalist era, our country was also subject to foreign domination. For example, speaking only of the last period, Kampuchean society was a colonial and semi-colonial society, subject to the domination of the French, Japanese and U.S, Imperialists. Thus, all the foreigners came to exploit our country.

Were there class contradictions in slave, feudal and capitalist societies? Of course there were class contradictions! A number of comrades have studied the history of Kampuchea. It clearly shows that there was class struggle for a very long time between the exploited and exploiting classes.

1. In slave society, there was struggle between the exploiters (slave owners) and exploited (slaves or "owned servants"). These two factions were adversaries, sworn enemies in the life-and-death conflict. Those of the slaves who refused to be exploited, joined together to fight against their oppressors. Did such struggle actually occur? Certainly it did! This is attested to by what is known about society and about exploitation, as well as by the social sciences. Our own history confirms it, in slave society, the exploited class struggled against the exploiting class. But this struggle was not guided by a correct line, History shows that the struggle of those times sometimes failed, sometimes triumphed. Some slaves became leaders of armies and defeated the slave owners, making themselves lords in order to exploit others in their turn. This is not a path which served the masses of slaves, it did not serve the exploited slave class. This was a line which served the personal interest of some men and their cliques, in order that they might dominate and exploit others. Did the oppressed accept oppression? Of course not! They fought back against the exploiters to defeat them. This is what happened during slave society. We can see that, throughout this experience, there was struggle, the slaves rose up in struggle. But this struggle did not culminate in success, because it was based on a line which does not serve the masses and the exploited classes. In the beginning, some leaders managed to deceive the masses. But the oppressed are quick to catch on when they are being exploited and to rise up against their exploiters.

The real substance of our revolution is the elimination of exploiting classes and the liberation of the exploited. We study this lesson to understand that now it is our Party which is in power, and, if it ever follows the path of the slave era, it will be fought and overthrown by the worker and peasant masses. If the political line serves the workers, peasants and the broad masses of people, it will meet broad support. It constitutes a powerful force which assures strong national defense, rapid building up of the country and a rapid rise in the people's living standard. The Party is the true representative of the poor classes. If it is not so, if the Party exploits

and crushes the people, the people will fight back and reject it. This is the experience of history. We must always, everywhere, examine ourselves. It is not only the Party as a whole which must do it, but also every Party organization, every cadre, every member of the Party, every official in the factories, in the ports, in the energy service, in the salt marshes. If it no longer represents the basic classes, the exploited people, this Party will have no meaning, it can no longer claim to be the Party of the proletariat. The committees would have no meaning, being a chairman would also be meaningless. "Meaningless" in the sense that they no longer represent the proletariat. Such a party, such cadres, such committees would change their class nature and, thus, at that point, enter into contradiction with the proletariat.

What lesson can we draw from the struggle during the period of slave society?

The positive point is that the exploited people, the slaves, struggled against the exploiting classes, the slave owners. The slaves were trained, forged in the course of successive struggles. This is the great lesson we must all learn from our poor people, who have made every sacrifice in the struggle to liberate the exploited classes and do away with exploiting classes.

But another lesson, which we must not forget, is that without a correct political line, a struggle is bound to fail.

2. The history of our country clearly shows the existence of two classes in feudal society. These are the classes of feudalists and landlords, and the peasant class. The feudalists and landlords were the warlords, who exploited the peasant class in every way. Thus, the exploited peasantry entered into contradiction with the feudalist and landlord class and fought back against it. This struggle developed everywhere in the country. Some peasant movements were put down and destroyed, others defeated the feudalists and landlords. But the peasant movements which gained victory did not have a political line which could serve the exploited peasant class or end exploitation. On the contrary, the winners, in some places, made themselves feudalists,

landlords or warlords, and, in so doing, became the new exploiters of the peasant class. Did the exploited peasant class accept these new feudalists, landlords or warlords? Of course not! The peasants fought to defeat the new exploiters, as they had fought the ones before them.

This shows that there were movements of the exploited peasant class against the exploiting class of feudalists and landlords. But these movements of struggle each met with defeat. What lessons can we draw from this?

One lesson is that the exploited peasant class was moved to rise in struggle. This struggle went on throughout a long period and developed in one movement after another. It mainly took the form of armed struggle, of war. Through this struggle, the exploited peasant class was trained, tempered with their own blood. They acted with courage and skill and won victories against the enemy.

The other lesson is that the struggle of the exploited class, at that time the peasantry, met repeated defeats despite its heroism. What was the reason for this?

Mainly, it was that there was no correct line which could powerfully and broadly mobilize the forces of the exploited class to crush the exploiters, the feudalists, landlords and warlords, peasant movements which gained victory did not have a political line which could serve the exploited peasant class or end exploitation. On the contrary, the winners, in some places, made themselves feudalists, landlords or warlords, and, in so doing, became the new exploiters of the peasant class. Did the exploited peasant class accept these new feudalists, landlords or warlords? Of course not! The peasants fought to defeat the new exploiters, as they had fought the ones before them.

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In this same feudal epoch, enemies came from abroad, some foreign feudalists and foreign reactionaries and colonialists came to invade our country. As invaders, they entered into antagonistic contradiction with the Kampuchean nation and people. They invaded, exploited and oppressed the Kampuchean nation and people, particularly the peasant class. At the same time, the Kampuchean nation and people, particularly the peasant class, rose up to drive out the foreign invaders, in order to be freed and to free the country and the people, particularly the peasantry. These movements of struggle appeared everywhere, one after another, taking the form of armed struggle. Some movements met defeat and were crushed. But, in other places, they won.

Even so, their victory was temporary, because those who were the victors did not possess a correct line to really liberate the country and really liberate the people, the exploited masses who comprise the peasant class. Once they won, they thought only of their own interest and the interest of their clique. They made themselves warlords and ruled like kings and viceroys, and they became the new exploiters of the peasant class. When the peasant people turned against them, they sought aid and protection from the foreign feudalists and reactionaries, or from the colonialists, cutting off much national territory for them or selling it to them, in order to continue to reign as kings, in kingdoms indebted to foreigners, collaborating with them in the exploitation of the peasantry.

This was the state of the struggle of the nation and of the peasantry during the feudal era. In reality, there was great heroism in this struggle, but it met defeat upon defeat. This was because there

was no political line which could serve the nation and true national liberation, serve the people and the true liberation of the nation.

3. During the feudal-capitalist era, in particular, just after the Second World War, there were many movements among the people of Kampuchea. These movements were quite different in nature from the movements of earlier times, because colonialism and international imperialism had acquired more experience in sabotaging the movements of the exploited nations and peoples. These movements were:

(a) The movement called the "Struggle for National Independence," which included several political parties, such as the Democratic Party, the Freedom Party, the Mother Earth Party, the Hanuman Party, the Arrow Party, and many others which formed later. These parties competed with each other in elections for their so-called "independence." In reality, however, these parties: were created out of the French colonial laws; made promises with the French colonialists and were authorized by them; represented the classes of feudalists, aristocrats, big landlords, capitalists and other privileged strata.

Was their struggle really that of the people, in the interest of the people? Was it for national independence? Of course not! The essence of their so called "struggle" was to obtain "independence" for Kampuchea from the French colonialists, in the interest of the feudalists, aristocrats, landlords, capitalists and other privileged strata. Of course, this form of struggle confused and deceived the masses only for a while. But, later, the masses cursed it and opposed it.

(b) The Japanese fascists and the U.S. CIA created an "independence movement," which they called "Popular Movement" or "Khmer Serei," with Son Ngoc Thanh at its head. The slogan, "Demand independence from the French," launched by Son Ngoc Thanh, could fool a few students for a while, but later, the "Popular Movement" or

"Khmer Serei," was condemned everywhere, spat upon and rejected by the nation and the people of Kampuchea, since its leader was a traitor to the nation. This so-called "struggle" to gain "independence" from France was, in fact, a struggle to gain "independence" for Kampuchea by the U.S. imperialists, whose aim was to transform Kampuchea into a neo-colony and a base for its military aggression.

(c) There was another movement of struggle. This was the authentic revolutionary struggle of our people, particularly of the poor peasants, to wrest independence from the French imperialists. This revolutionary struggle developed in several parts of our country. The people made every sacrifice in combat against the enemy. It was an armed struggle, and, in the course of it, the people built their army and established their bases.

But this revolutionary struggle of our people and their revolutionary gains vanished into thin air with the 1954 Geneva Accords. What was the reason for this?

The lessons, which our people paid for with their blood during the history of their courageous struggle, show that the absence of a clear and correct line to guide the revolutionary struggle was the reason for the successive failures of our people.

Therefore, the following questions were raised: How do we wage the struggle? What are its strategy and tactics? What are its orientation and its objectives? What forces should we rely on? What form should the struggle take? In fact, there was no independence, initiative or self-reliance.

Without a political line which gives judicious guidance, one becomes blind. Even with great strength and determination, one cannot win. One loses one's orientation, one doesn't know what to hold onto, one proceeds toward certain defeat and, in the end, ruin.

To summarize, our people have fought for a very long time, from the slave period to the struggle against the French, but they met one defeat after another. Throughout this period, the movement of our people has left us two major lessons:

The best lesson is that our people are courageous, moved by fierce patriotism, daring to struggle, daring to sacrifice themselves to fight the enemies of the nation, the aggressors and the exploiters who are the class enemies.

We must grasp this special point well. If we do not, we arc gravely underestimating our people. If we do not learn from the movement of our people since its beginnings, we cannot avoid thinking that our people do not dare to struggle, do not know how to struggle, that they are lazy, weak, cowardly, and have accomplished nothing. But, in fact, from generation to generation, our people have always struggled, have always shed their blood. They dare to wage armed struggle, which is the highest form of struggle: they even struggle bare-handed. Our people have struggled, they still struggle, they will struggle forever.

Are such people brave, or, are they cowards? They are truly a brave people, truly worthy, having beautiful traditions of struggle. We must grasp this lesson and emulate it so as to keep our people's good trait aloft and alive forever, The reality is that the people have struggled, a fact not imagined by some writer. Thus whether or not we have confidence in the masses depends on the examination that we make of our people's movement. Our people have dared to fight foreign invaders in every era. They dared to struggle against the French invaders, they dared to struggle against the Japanese and the American invaders, they have always dared to struggle.

For this reason, we all place our complete confidence in our people, expand and strengthen this confidence, and rely on our people. The force of the people can carry out any task of the revolution

The second lesson is that, although valiant, if the struggle is misdirected, it is going to lose. In the past, we did not have a line. Our people were very courageous, made immense sacrifices, but they continually met defeat because they did not base themselves on a correct line. There was no line which could resist the foreign enemies who invaded us, there was no line to fight back against the class

enemies who exploited us within the country. And so, from this negative experience, how can we draw a positive lesson?

We must have a correct line, we must have the leadership of a true party of the working class with a correct line. When we possess a correct line which can mobilize the people's forces, they will be very powerful.

Now, we must have a line. But what line? A line copied from others will not work. We must have a line coming from a position of independence and initiative, of deciding our own destiny. Self-reliance means relying principally and fundamentally on our own people, our own Army, our own Party, on the concrete revolutionary movement in our country.

Thus, we must elaborate a correct line to win victory. This is why we drew up the strategic and tactical lines of our national democratic revolution, the question to which I will address myself in the second part of my talk.

The National Democratic Revolution, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, 1960–1975

Based on the experiences of the centuries-long revolutionary struggles of our people, struggles marked by repeated defeats, our Party developed a political line to lead the Kampuchean revolution to victory.

In 1957 we created a committee in order to prepare the Party's political line, which was made up of a number of cadres in charge of work in the countryside and others in charge of work in Phnom Penh. The committee studied and researched the history of our people's struggle, summing up the positive and negative experiences in order to draw lessons which could help illustrate the Party's line. The committee also studied the experiences of a number of revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world.

In light of these experiences, the committee worked out a draft proposal for the Party's political line, based upon Marxism-Leninism

and the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, in order to be masters of our own destiny, applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete realities of Kampuchea and Kampuchean society.

It should be noted that at that time the situation was characterized by difficult and complex struggles, both inside the country and abroad.

Inside the country, enemy repression had caused heavy losses since the time of the 1955 legislative elections. In 1956, the enemy continued to crack down and, in 1957, the repression intensified. In 1958, during the second elections, these attacks became even more severe, especially in the countryside, and many people were arrested. The arrests continued and multiplied in 1959 and 1960, both in the countryside and in the cities. About 90% of our revolutionary forces in the countryside were destroyed in 1959, due to assassinations, arrests, recantations and surrender to the enemy. In the cities, new forces had been formed but they, too, were eventually reduced by assassinations, arrests, recantations and surrender. This was the difficult situation at home.

Abroad, the situation at that time was also very complex, as a result of the confusion and uncertainty in the international revolutionary line.

It was in this situation that our committee charged with working out the Party's line drew some clear and precise conclusions from our bitter experiences during the elections which the ruling class of that time had organized.

During the 1955 elections, the people's forces throughout the country supported the revolution and the progressive side against the reactionaries and U.S. imperialism. But the people were unable to vote for the progressives, because the ruling class resorted to its guns, courts, laws, prisons and other repressive tools. The 1958 elections showed even more clearly that the people still loved the revolutionaries and supported the progressive policy against U.S. imperialism, wanting to give the progressives state power and management of the affairs of the country and people. But in the elections of 1958, once again, the enemy made use of its guns, laws,

courts, prisons and every other repressive tool to prevent the people from voting for the revolutionaries, the patriots and the progressives.

Do these experiences lead us to pursue electoral tactics in the struggle, or, rather, to find other forms of struggle through which to win victory and liberate our nation and people? The concrete situation of our movement posed the problem in this way.

Our own experiences taught us that we must adhere to the principles of independence, national sovereignty and self-reliance, basing ourselves on the experiences of our own revolutionary movement, in order to determine our concrete political line.

It is in this way that the committee worked out a proposal for the Party's line, a proposal which became the basic line presented to the 1960 Party Congress.

The First Party Congress was convened in Phnom Penh on September 30, 1960, while enemy repression was raging. To give an example which illustrates the situation at that time, I would like to mention that among the comrades who were then under arrest or in prison were our most distinguished intellectuals, such as the comrade president of the State Presidium. If the enemy did not hesitate to attack well-known intellectuals, it was even freer to attack the workers, the peasants and ordinary people.

It was in this bleak situation that we successfully convened our Party's First Congress, right in the railroad yards of Phnom Penh itself. Among the Congress participants were 14 peasant representatives, in charge of work in different rural areas, and seven representatives of the cities, 21 delegates in all. In such a tense situation, with the enemy intensifying its repression, the participation of 21 representatives at the Party Congress was, in itself, a life-and-death struggle. Had the enemy discovered the site of the Congress, the entire leadership of the Party would have been destroyed, the line of the Party would never have seen the light of day, the revolution would have been gravely endangered and its future jeopardized.

But we were determined to hold the Congress, because the revolutionary situation urgently demanded the adoption of a correct line to lead us, Without a correct line, the revolutionary movement

would have been in grave danger. It would have headed toward defeat. and the entire revolution would have been jeopardized. And so, this situation made us determined to hold the First Congress at all costs, to assure its success, to adopt the Party line, which would enable us to lead the revolution to inevitable victory.

I said that the First Congress of the Party was held on September 30, 1960. Actually, we met for three days and three nights, September 28, 29 and 30, 1960. The meetings lasted for three days without interruption; from start to finish, we were shut up in the room, without leaving.

The Congress marked a historic turning point for our nation our people, our revolution, and for the working class of Kampuchea. It was the day on which the Communist Party of Kampuchea, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, was definitively born.

The First Party Congress decided three important questions:

1.The basic strategic line of the national democratic revolution; 2. The Party constitution;
3. The election of the members of the Party's Central Committee assuring leadership on a national level.

Now I will deal with some of the essence of the fundamental line of our Party in the national democratic revolution.

What did we decide at that time? Let us look again in order to see if our decisions were correct or not. The fact that we have won one victory after another, leading up to the great victory of April 17, 1975, clearly proves that our line was correct. Nonetheless, we want to make this re-examination to clarify the reasons and the scientific analysis which led us to our fundamental line.

Firstly, the Congress analysed and defined the real nature of Kampuchean society at that time. What was the nature of our society at that time? What were its contradictions? It was absolutely necessary to answer these questions. This was basic to the definition of our tasks. A correct analysis of Kampuchean society allows the

correct definition of the tasks of the revolution; on the contrary, an incorrect analysis would lead to equally incorrect tasks.

Kampuchea at that time was a satellite of imperialism, in particular, U.S. imperialism. This meant that Kampuchea was neither independent nor free. Kampuchea was a semi-colony, in a situation of dependency on imperialism in general and, in particular, on American imperialism. This was the conclusion of our analysis.

Could this analysis be made without struggle? Of course not! We had to struggle within our own ranks, and we had to struggle also in certain circles in society. At that time, within our nation, there were some people who believed that Kampuchea had been independent since 1949; others claimed that independence had been won in 1954, thanks to the Geneva Accords. Aside from the difference on the date, both these views agreed that Kampuchea was independent.

But did the true nature of the society and of the country in those days support this talk of independence? Of course not! Neither the economy nor the culture were independent. Nor was Kampuchea independent politically. Some sectors were independent, but others were not. It was the same for our social life. Not being independent means being dependent on foreign countries, dependent on foreign imperialism in general, headed by U.S. imperialism. Kampuchea was not at all independent in military affairs. The Khmer-U.S. military agreements of May 16, 1955, were proof of this. Besides, the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) had stretched its “umbrella” over Kampuchea. Consequently, although independent and neutral in form, Kampuchea, in essence, in its true nature, was not.

In actuality, the economy was entirely dominated by imperialism. It was the same for culture. The society and lifestyle were under imperialist influence, especially within the ruling circles.

We thus defined the Kampuchea of those days as a country enslaved by imperialism, a semi-colonial country, because Kampuchea was under foreign domination in economy, culture, social and military affairs, and therefore was not independent.

This analysis should convince anyone that there were contradictions. Kampuchea was certainly not totally dependent, but it

was half-way dependent. This being the case, were there contradictions? Of course there were! There was a contradiction between the Kampuchean nation and foreign imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. It was not armed aggression, but there was economic, cultural and social aggression, as well as military aggression in the sense that the Kampuchean Army was subject to imperialist control in every way.

Consequently, by its very nature, Kampuchean society was prey to contradictions. It could not have been otherwise. Some people tried to bury the contradictions, insisting that they did not exist, But, in fact, the contradictions existed. There were contradictions between the Kampuchean nation and imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and they had to be resolved. They had to be resolved through a correct definition of our revolutionary tasks, namely, by uniting the whole nation into a single force in the struggle against imperialism, especially US. imperialism, for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

This was the task of the national revolution. It meant that imperialism had to be driven out and the nation liberated. This was what we found to be the solution, and we did not waver in applying it. If we could not find the solution, we would not have been able to give a correct definition to our tasks, and we would not have fought against imperialism. Moreover, after finding out the solution, if we had not taken a resolute position, the tasks would not have been defined in a clear way, and we would have been hesitant and unsteady. Sometimes we would have fought, sometimes we wouldn't have.

Our Party correctly determined the contradictions which existed within Kampuchea. Therefore, we took up the task of mobilizing all the people's forces in order to drive out imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. We mobilized everyone who was against imperialism, against U.S. imperialism in particular. This was one of the correct tasks.

At that time, the exploiting and reactionary classes used to say: "Against whom should we struggle, since there are no Americans here?" But as for us, we based ourselves on the scientific analysis of

the society. What was the nature of the society, the true nature of the economy, of the Army, of the culture? Were they independent or not? This was how we proceeded. We were not confined to the formal appearance of things. Because of the essence of its economy, its culture, its social life, its Army, Kampuchea was not independent. Therefore, Kampuchea was dependent or semi-dependent.

In this situation, did we want independence? The people certainly wanted independence. It was, then, necessary to set the task of mobilizing the people to struggle against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, in order to win independence.

Secondly, the Congress analysed and defined the contradictions within Kampuchean society. At the time that we were working out the Party's line, Kampuchean society was divided into five distinct classes: the working class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie and the feudal class. In all, there were five classes.

Were there contradictions between these various classes? There were, and they were complicated ones. There were contradictions between the workers and the capitalists, between the petty bourgeoisie and the capitalists, between the peasants and the landowners, between the capitalists and the peasants, etc. The contradictions were complex and very entangled. But which contradictions played the dominant role in society at that time?

To answer this question, we had to find, among the many contradictions in society, the one which involved the majority of the population. Which class most exploited the others? Which class was the most exploited and the most numerous?

An examination of the Kampuchean society of that time revealed that the peasants were 85% of the country's entire population. Therefore, the peasants were the overwhelming majority of the population. They were exploited by all classes. They were exploited by the capitalists and the landlords. However, it was from the landlords that the peasants suffered the worst, most varied and most direct exploitation. Thus, 85% of the population, that is, the peasants, were in contradiction with the exploiting class which

oppressed them directly, the landowners. Among all the contradictions within Kampuchean society, the contradiction which played the dominant role was that between the peasants and the landlords, because the peasantry represented the overwhelming majority, 85%, of the population. From whom did the peasants suffer exploitation? It had to be a priority to resolve this principal contradiction in order to mobilize the forces of the peasantry, who were the greatest force.

Thus, in Kampuchean society of those days, the contradictions were many and complex, but there was one contradiction among them which played an overwhelmingly dominant role, that was the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class.

The landlords exploited the peasants in every way, and this exploitation existed even in the most remote areas of Kampuchea. We made direct investigations for several years in our villages and communities, and we assembled direct details on this subject.

I will give an example: Thmor Koul, in the province of Battambang. During the years 1957–58, this was a region of vast rice plantations. Some 90% of the farmlands were in the hands of the landowners. Of the tens of thousands of people in Thmor Koul, only four to ten persons were landowners, who monopolized 90% of the land. Tens of thousands of peasants shared the remaining ten percent of the farmlands. This is why we concluded that there was impoverishment in the countryside. That is to say, the peasants were becoming more and more impoverished. The rich peasants, who only cultivated their land themselves, eventually became middle peasants. The middle peasants, who cultivated their land themselves and were exploited part of the time, became lower-middle peasants. The lower-middle peasants, little by little, became poor peasants, and the poor peasants, having little by little lost all their land, had to emigrate to the cities, where they became laborers, workers, pedicab drivers, or porters. This was the process of impoverishment in the countryside. Only the landlords became richer.

These were the contradictions in Kampuchean society, everywhere in Kampuchea.

Here is another document resulting from our investigations in the community of Dontey, which is situated in the eastern part of Kompong Cham province, in the Eastern Zone. We studied how the landlords exploited the peasants and what forms this exploitation took.

A pair of black cotton shorts cost, at that time, two to three riels. But it cost the peasants 10 to 15 bushels of rice at harvest time. In this area, for their annual needs, a middle peasant family of five persons, husband, wife and three children, had only 30 bushels of rice per year, including the rice needed for food and seeds. So, with fifteen bushels of rice for one pair of shorts, for two pairs of shorts, they would need 30 bushels of rice, the total income of a middle peasant family for a whole year.[10]

Such then was the intensity of the exploitation which raged in our countryside. Those who did not see these problems did not realize how intense the exploitation was. Therefore, the contradiction was a life and death contradiction. This was a profound contradiction in Kampuchean society, one which touched 85% of the population. It was for this reason that the First Party Congress defined this contradiction as an antagonistic contradiction.

This being the case, how could this contradiction be resolved? The peasants had to be mobilized in struggle against the exploiting class, the landlords. That was the only solution. But to win, the peasants had to have other social forces on their side. Our concrete experience had clearly shown that once we succeeded in mobilizing 85% of the people, the rest would follow, except for a small minority.

That is how we defined our tasks in the democratic revolution. By "democratic revolution," we mean the liberation of the people. Concretely, it is the liberation of the majority 85% of the people, the peasant class. To liberate the peasants, who make up 85% of the population, is to liberate all the people at one blow. Among the 15%, remaining, the great majority would follow the masses of the

[10] Editors: A bushel or "thang" equals roughly 40 kilograms.

peasantry, who form a powerful revolutionary force. Not only powerful in quantity, but also in quality, since the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords is a life-and death contradiction. Understanding this force is the key to victory. To consider our peasants backward, unclean, miserable, crude, incapable of making revolution, is to fall into a grave error in analysis. It is not proceeding from a scientific analysis of the contradictions within our society.

In fact, this 85% of the population constitutes an immense force, because of its numbers and because of the profound contradictions which affect it. The contradictions generated hatred, but, in the past, the contradictions were buried. Why? Because the landlord class, the holders of power and the spiritual leaders were in the service of the ruling classes to dope the people. The belief that bad and good deeds from another life resulted in present conditions served to deceive the peasants and prevent them from seeing the contradictions. And yet, the contradictions were there. To arouse the peasants so that they saw them, burned with class hatred and took up the struggle.

This was the key problem, the fundamental problem which was decisive for victory. Such was the conclusion of our analysis and such was our conviction.

In summary, the national democratic revolution had to accomplish two tasks:

(1) To fight imperialism;
(2) To fight the feudal landowners. To fight not just the individual landowners, but also their system of feudal exploitation.

According to this line, we had to mobilize the poor peasants and the lower middle peasants. The cadres in charge of work in the countryside did not live in the towns, but in the most remote areas. It was there that we were able to learn how many bushels of rice the peasants consumed each year and how many bushels of rice they had

to pay lor a pair of shorts. We knew how the poor and lower-middle peasants were exploited. because we lived with them, and we carried out agitation and propaganda among them about feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, and the exploitation by the merchants and the capitalists.

Comrades, examine the situation at that time! How did the struggles in the countryside develop, beginning in 1964?

In 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967, the struggles developed with great force. Our movement was very powerful. It was in upheaval. In 1964 and 1965, the movement was already strong. In 1966, it became even more powerful. In 1967, it became an extraordinary force. By the thousands, by the tens of thousands, the peasants demonstrated, rose up, marched on the administrative offices of the communes, districts and provinces, in order to regain control of the land. Every form of struggle was used, including petitions and meetings with deputies. But what is especially important, the peasants armed themselves with scythes, knives, axes and hatchets, and other traditional weapons. Weapons in hand, the peasants surrounded police stations and military posts, resorting to revolutionary violence because the ruling classes refused to solve the problem of the lands which they had grabbed from the poor peasants in collusion with the landlords. The ruling classes were the feudalists, the landlords and the capitalists. How could they satisfy the demands of the peasants? They couldn't. Their lies and their deceit could only help them for a time. When, after several actions, the peasants still had not recovered their lands, their discontent was transformed into anger, then class hatred, hatred arising from the class contradictions. At this stage, how could the problem be solved? There was nothing left for the peasants but to take up their scythes and axes and drive out the landlords, who had grabbed their land. From that point on, they no longer feared death, because they had nothing, and this was already like death for them.

Such was the movement of our peasants, a movement of great impetus, which was spreading through the entire country.

Some people asked us where our forces were and whether it would be possible for us to make revolution with only our bare hands as weapons. They did not see the seething and roaring strength of our people, with their class consciousness fully awakened. This class consciousness was not due solely to the propaganda and educational work of our Party, but was acquired in the course of struggle, through class hatred and the unresolved class contradictions. Problems like these led our peasants to find the solution in revolutionary violence. The decision to resort to violence came from our people themselves, learning through their own experiences in struggle. Thus, we were able to agitate among and mobilize 85% of the peasants throughout the country. It was a prodigious force, and that is why we dared to struggle. Our Party believed in the people. Why? Because the Party had clearly seen the class contradictions and seen that the people were struggling through their own movement to resolve them. Our role was only to guide them to unite their strength, so that they would not go into combat without concentrating their forces.

This was the analysis formulated by the First Congress. It opened the way to a correct orientation for our Party. If we could not have grasped it, we would have taken a wrong path.

Some people believed only in the importance of parliamentary struggle. The Party certainly had to carry on the struggle in the Assembly, but this was a supplementary form of struggle. It did not constitute the principal form of struggle in our revolution. It was not strategic, but only tactical. The struggle through the press is a form of struggle which was utilized to incite the opinion of the broad masses, but this, too, was not the principal form of struggle.

The fundamental force of our revolution is the peasants. In our country, the situation is different from the industrial countries. The workers were not the principal force of struggle of our revolution. In the beginning, we were also active among the workers. Since 1955, we were able to organize the workers' movement throughout the country. The comrade who is assistant secretary of our Party was given the task of leading this movement. However, our working class

was numerically few. The movement was active in each factory, but it could not withstand enemy repression. Every time the movement rose up, it was soon destroyed.

Take the railroads, for instance. The movement there was the most powerful movement of the working class in our country, but it was crushed. Because of the tortures they suffered, some comrades who survived became insane.

Therefore, the working class by its class nature, is the leading force. However, it was few in number and completely under the grasp of the enemy in the factories and workplaces.

Thus, our analysis of Kampuchean society in that period—that the peasants were in contradiction with the landlords—was fundamentally correct. On the basis of this analysis, we have full confidence in our own forces.

Despite what some people said, whatever the difficulties, we remained unshakeable in our belief. Our people struggled very hard, and they struggled under the correct leadership of the Party. One incident among the many others, an incident from that period which I am going to use as an example, shows the richness of our people's forms of struggle.

Krava, in the community of the same name in the Baray District, is a remote village, situated at the edge of the forests on the banks of the Stung Chinit River. The enemy heavily suppressed the people of this community, subjecting them to all sorts of exploitation, particularly land grabbing. The inhabitants had struggled. The enemy had arrested all the men. There was no one left in the village but women and children. The Party then recommended a supplementary form of struggle, struggle in the Assembly.

The peasant women immediately said: "What? Us, struggle in the Assembly? We, who know nothing of Phnom Penh or the Assembly? Struggle with whom and against whom?"

We told them to take a bus from Kompong Cham and, once in Phnom Penh, to take pedicabs and ask the drivers to take them to the house of Chau Sen Kosal, president of the Assembly, and to stay there until he came home. They came in a group, with children in hand,

babies in their arms. The pedicabs let them out at the home of Chau Sen Kosal. There, they refused to leave, staying for several days until Chau Sen Kosal finally agreed to arrange for the return of their husbands and lands.

This was how our illiterate peasants, who had never known the Assembly or any city, let alone Phnom Penh, had nonetheless dared to struggle under the leadership of the Party.

The forms of their struggle were varied. The people are an immense force, capable of doing anything. Why? The reason is that our analysis of the contradictions and our manner of solving them was correct, and we were able to mobilize the necessary forces for a correct solution.

This is the line we adopted. Once we made the analysis of the contradictions within Kampuchean society, how did we determine the forces of the revolution and its enemies?

There were two enemies who had to be fought: the first was imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. The second was the feudal class, the landlords, the reactionary compradors.

The forces of revolution were the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and prominent patriots and progressives. If we managed to mobilize only a small number, we would not succeed in the struggle. If we mobilized only some of them, we would have succeeded to some extent. If we mobilized all these forces, we would win completely. If we managed to mobilize a large powerful force, we would win a tremendous victory. This was the factor determining whether we would win or lose. Therefore, we had to know how to mobilize the forces of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and the patriotic personalities.

How could we mobilize the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the prominent patriots?

We proceeded according to the line already sketched. We had to keep the principal contradictions always in sight. The principal contradictions were with imperialism and the feudal, landlord system, which we had to combat.

As to the secondary contradictions, they had to be resolved by reciprocal concessions in a way that allowed the unity of all the forces against imperialism, especially American imperialism, and the system of the feudalists, landlords and reactionary compradors. By basing ourselves on this line, we united all our forces.

We divided our work according to these different forces. Some of our comrades were assigned to work among the workers; others to work among the peasants; others still among the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, students and pupils; and others among the Buddhist priests, the national bourgeoisie and among the prominent progressives and patriots. That is to say, we united all who could be united, not only the workers and peasants, but also the petty bourgeoisie (the pupils, students and intellectuals) and the national bourgeoisie, the prominent patriots and progressives. We united everybody.

But how were we able to unite these people? Our policy had to be correct, our reasoning sound. The people had to understand our reasoning. Our policy had to conform with their interests for them to give us their support. We talked to them, had meetings with them. Sometimes they agreed with us, sometimes they didn't. We came back again and again. First, they didn't see the true nature of U.S. imperialism. But gradually, they ended up seeing it more and more clearly and uniting with us to combat it, to win independence, peace and neutrality.

All the forces had their role to play, but the basic forces were the peasants, who represented 85% of the people. We succeeded in mobilizing them, and this allowed us to unite the others in the course of the work. In this way, we were able to mobilize our forces. These forces, representing 95% of our people, united against the enemy.

It is true that these forces are different in kind: some are strategic forces, others, tactical forces. We consider the workers and peasants to be the strategic forces.

The petty bourgeoisie, the pupils, students, intellectuals of every kind, are allies of the workers and peasants. They were allies in the past, and they are still allies today.

As for tactical forces, they are the prominent people from the feudal aristocracy, the comprador capitalist class or the landlord class, who are willing to struggle to some extent against the enemy. We tried to unite all these people. Samdech Penn Nouth and Samdech Sihanouk, Samdech Supreme Patriarch Choun Nath of the Mohanikay Buddhist Order and the Samdech Supreme Patriarch of the Thumayuth Buddhist Order are prominent people whom we strove to rally. We rallied everybody. Our line was right and we applied it correctly.

Following our united front line, we united all the national forces in a large and solid united front, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of our Party. We achieved excellent results in organizing these strategic and tactical revolutionary forces, which had the effect of winning to the revolution more and more important forces and of driving the enemy into greater and greater isolation.

We pursued our policy of uniting different forces, even to the point of differentiating among our enemies, so as to target only the most reactionary. We divided our enemies into three groups and, likewise, our position toward each group was different.

1. To win over those enemies who could be won over, even if only under certain circumstances;
2. To neutralize those who could be neutralized, so they could not carry out actions against us;
3. To isolate the most reactionary, in order to defeat them.

In this way, we succeeded in differentiating our enemies and, in certain circumstances, in making use of their internal contradictions. Let us take one case. The traitors Sim Var and Sam Sary were both agents of the CIA. The traitor Sim Var was from Son Ngoc Thanh's group, "Khmer Serei." The traitor Sam Sary was also a CIA agent. But during a certain period, we succeeded in establishing unity of action with Sim Var in order to defeat Sam Sary. Sim Var cooperated

with us for two or three years. He then turned against us, and we consequently revised our position towards him.

This was taking advantage of every opportunity to unite broader forces to defeat the enemy. If we had been rigid and sectarian, we would have missed opportunities to unite broader forces to serve the revolutionary movement. But such forces were only tactical. We concentrated on the strategic forces, the workers and peasants, and especially the poor and lower-middle peasants, who were found everywhere in our country.

Clearly, without this kind of line, without this way of applying the line of uniting broad forces, victory would have been out of the question. No revolutionary movement can win victory without uniting all its forces.

We won victory in the national democratic revolution because we organized our forces according to this line.

It was our Party's line to distinguish the strategic and tactical forces, those matters of principle on which we must be intransigent, those questions on which we must be able to unite, and those questions of detail on which we must make concessions for the sake of unity against the principal enemy. It is this line which guided us.

These last two years since liberation are two key years, because we emerged from our dire difficulties brought on by the devastating war. But we have passed through them successfully and relied basically on our own forces.

Why was this possible? Because our people made the revolution. Without the revolutionary forces of the people, we would not be where we are. The organization of our forces is basically correct. It is certainly not 100% successful, but successful in the overwhelming majority of our work, there are some negative aspects, but the positive aspects predominate. We were able to successfully prepare our forces. We have not fallen into subjectivity, in the sense that we have not made revolution without concern for the reality of our country.

The revolution does not disperse, it unites the forces to the greatest possible extent. The revolution is so grandiose, so profound,

it replaces the old with the new. It is a great upheaval. The revolution, then, is not at all an ordinary undertaking. To win, the revolutionary forces must be organized thoroughly.

Since the First Congress of our Party, we have based ourselves on these principles and drawn lessons in the course of struggle. On the basis of these principles, the errors committed were rectified in the course of the work to better organize, consolidate and constantly enlarge our forces. That was why our national democratic revolution was prodigious.

What is the source of the prodigious power of our national democratic revolution? It is the force of the masses of people. This is what decides everything: politics, economics, the military, social questions, the war at the front, as well as production in the rear areas.

The entire population was set in motion. There are no more unused forces. That is the lesson, and we are all profoundly convinced of this.

After preparing and building the revolutionary forces to defeat the enemy, what forms of struggle did we have to use?

The First Congress of our Party specified the following forms of revolutionary struggle: The first form of struggle was to use revolutionary political violence and revolutionary armed violence. We resorted to revolutionary violence in both political and armed struggle to oppose and attack the enemy. The second form was legal, semi-legal and illegal struggle, taking illegal struggle as the basic form. We took the illegal forms as the basis because, normally, making revolution is "illegal." There is no law of the exploiting classes authorizing revolution. To mobilize the people for struggle is "illegal," but don't we dare to struggle anyway? If you make revolution, you must dare to struggle, because revolution is "illegal." Revolution overthrows the old power and installs a new power. It is for this reason that our line specified illegal forms as the basis.

We brought this question up in order to clarify our views and our position. If this question had not been perfectly clear, we could only have waged a legal struggle. If the laws had not authorized our struggle, we would not have dared to wage it, which means we would

not have made revolution. Thus, the forms of struggle were a matter of revolutionary principle in our march to victory.

Third were the open, semi-open and clandestine forms of struggle, with the clandestine forms as the basis. We made use of both open and semi-open forms of struggle, but we took the clandestine forms of struggle as the basis, because the enemy did not allow us to make revolution. Consequently, to make revolution, to do agitation among the people, we had to go among the people, do propaganda among them and arouse the people, taking the clandestine form of struggle as the principal form.

Open forms of struggle are not enough. They can only operate on the surface and do not penetrate deeply among the people. Let us take the case of the press. We could have published 100 dailies, but we would have only been able to write within the framework of laws of the state of the feudalist and capitalist classes. Thus, the revolutionary content could not have reached the people. The class content, the content of the struggle to overthrow the exploiting classes, could not have reached the people at the grassroots. It was only when we went to work among the people secretly that the revolutionary content penetrated to the people at the grassroots. We need correct lines of action and correct forms of struggle to be successful in our work, to mobilize our forces.

The Party also attached importance to a good division of labor among the cadres. To some cadres, it assigned open work, to others, work as a deputy in the Assembly, or as a member of the government under the old regime, or as a functionary in the administration, as well as open work in various mass organizations and in the press. These are different forms which can be used to incite the masses. In this way, we divided work among ourselves.

However, there were some sections of clandestine work which were organized to carry out agitation secretly among the people. In Phnom Penh, there were sections which carried out open work, and sections which carried out secret work. It was the same in the countryside, there were some sections for open work and others for secret work. Secret work was the fundamental thing: it allowed us to

defend the revolutionary forces and also allowed us to arouse the people. If all of us or too great a number of us had been working openly, the enemy would have been able to destroy many or all of us.

These are the forms of struggle needed to effectively make use of all the forces among the people. We did not use these forces carelessly, so as not to expose them needlessly to destruction. In making use of all these forms, our struggle spread throughout the country. We were able to carry on our struggle both in the countryside and in the cities, both secretly and openly, in the Assembly, in the government. in associations, mass organizations, the press, associations for the expansion of education, even in the cremation societies, associations for defense of the pagodas and associations for defense of Buddhism. We could wage the struggle there, mobilize the many to the greatest possible extent, using different forms and slogans.

At the same time we were waging a political struggle, we made use of many different forms, in the manner of a people's war. Thus, we would attack the enemy no matter where. We could lead many large scale attacks, as well as small scale attacks.

This was our work of continual mobilization and training of the people. Thanks to the use of all these forms of struggle, we built up our forces. If we had struggled only in the countryside, we would have lacked forces in the cities. Had we, on the other hand, fought only in the cities, we would not have had strength in the countryside. So we struggled both in the countryside and the cities, both openly and secretly, legally and illegally.

It is the same for the role of the cities and the countryside. We fell into neither leftism nor rightism. If we had only carried on our work in the rural areas, thinking that the role of the cities was negligible, this would have been leftism. If, on the other hand, we had considered that the countryside had played only a minor role, and the important thing was the urban struggle, thinking that only the latter is capable of gaining world attention, this would have been rightism. In both cases, we would have neglected the strategic forces of the peasantry. Our Party did not fall into either leftism or rightism,

because we fought both sides. We had a well-defined line of action, we struggled at the same time in the cities and the countryside, while taking the countryside as the support base. Such was our line of action. Why did we take the countryside as the base and why did we not take the cities as the support base?

The cities could not be the base. True, the population there is large, but the city is small, the enemy is all over it. The Assembly, the courts, the prisons, the police, the Army—they were all there. The networks of the enemy's repressive apparatus were concentrated there, and the social composition of the town is very complex.

By contrast, the countryside is vast. The enemy is spread thin there. In some villages, there is not even the shadow of the enemy, militarily or otherwise. In some communities, there are only one or two soldiers or police. This means the enemy forces in the countryside are weak. The peasants there are very numerous. The class composition is good.

This is why we took the countryside as the revolutionary base. First, as the political base with the peasant masses as the force. Second, as an economic base: we could live there, produce and share the problems of livelihood together with the people. Third, as a military base. Fourth, as a base to serve as a headquarters for the various leading bodies of the Party.

This is the role of the rural base. We realized this through practice. From the beginning of 1960, the members of the Central Committee gradually transferred their activities to the countryside. Since 1963, 90% of the Central Committee members moved there. We had to live in the countryside in order to directly mobilize the peasant masses. At the same time, we continued our work in the cities. In this way, we compelled the enemy to disperse his forces. He could not concentrate them either in the countryside or in the cities. We attacked him simultaneously on both fronts so as to weaken him.

Thus, once the political line of the Party was grasped and assimilated, the struggle movements both in Phnom Penh, the other big cities, and in the rural areas grew rapidly.

1963: This was the year all U.S. aid was rejected. This was great event in our struggle. It was the result of the people's struggle, the struggle of the pupils, students, intellectuals, workers and peasants, of the Buddhist monks, aided also by the struggle of our prominent people working in the Assembly and the government, and supported by the struggles in the countryside.

1964: January—a huge demonstration mobilized many tens of thousands of people in Phnom Penh against U.S. imperialism and the clique of the traitor Lon Nol. That same year, in the month of March, another big demonstration united hundreds of thousands of people in front of the U.S. Embassy. The crowd attacked the premises, tore down the American flag and trampled it. These were some of the events which illustrate the pitched struggle of the population in the cities.

1965: This was the year diplomatic relations with U.S imperialism were broken off, the culmination of the continued, powerful struggles of our people. These struggles gave considerable support to the struggle in the countryside. They created favorable conditions for the consolidation and forceful development of the revolutionary forces.

What was the situation in the countryside? In 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967, the struggles followed one another throughout the country without respite, taking many forms, but mainly the form of the struggle for land reform.

In 1967, the situation was ripe in the countryside throughout Kampuchea. The people armed themselves with knives, axes, clubs and other weapons they could lay their hands on to attack police stations and military garrisons. The revolutionary violence then reached a high level. It was in this ripening revolutionary situation that an armed uprising broke out in 1967 in Samlaut in Battambang Province. This was set off by the people, through their own movement. The Party Central Committee had not yet decided on general armed insurrection throughout the country. The armed explosion in Battambang was explained by the fact that the movement

of struggle of the peasants in that region had reached the boiling point. But the Party was there to give leadership to the movement and decided to suspend temporarily the armed struggle in Battambang until the whole country could complete its preparations. If Battambang had rushed into the struggle alone, the enemy could have concentrated all its forces there to crush the revolutionary forces.

Thus, in 1967 the situation in the countryside had reached a new height, like dry straw in the rice fields in March and April, which needs only a small spark to set it on fire. Thus, the situation was ripe.

We arrived at this evaluation of the situation of our people's revolutionary movement after studying and analyzing these struggles. This is why in the middle of 1967, following the experience of the armed uprising in Samlaut, Battambang, the Party decided to initiate an open phase of armed struggle to defend the revolution and, at the same time, to create the conditions for the consolidation and development of the revolutionary forces.

If not, the enemy would have destroyed the revolutionary forces. It was necessary to begin the armed struggle because we had already prepared the people: the class hatred and national hatred were explosive. The people were already tempered by all their experiences in struggle; they were struggling with their bare hands, with sticks, with knives.

This was the situation in the countryside and the cities. At that time, the enemy was wavering and incapable of facing the revolutionary forces, because we were attacking simultaneously in the towns and countryside, in perfect coordination.

Basing itself on these experiences, the whole Party was unanimous in its conclusion: if we continued to wage only the political struggle, and, if we did not take up armed struggle, we would be incapable of defending the revolutionary forces, and we would be even more incapable of consolidating and expanding them.

And so we launched the armed struggle in 1968.

January 1968: Insurrection in the Northwest Zone. We captured four to ten enemy guns, which were then used to continue the attack.

February 1968: Insurrection in the Southwest Zone. There nearly 200 rifles were taken from soldiers of the provincial guard and from the military garrisons, certainly not an insignificant number of weapons at that time. They were captured not with guns, but with bare hands, by mass insurrection. As a result, from that time on, we had the means to mount still more powerful offensives.

March 1968: Insurrection in the Eastern Zone, There the enemy had advance knowledge. While the Regional Committee was in the midst of a meeting to organize an uprising like the one in the Southwest, the enemy took its arms out of the area. So, at the hour of the outbreak of armed struggle there were only a few rifles in the Eastern Zone. The enemy was then free to attack the people and the revolutionary forces for more than three months, in April, May and June. Our bases were destroyed. The homes and villages were devastated, the population killed and dispersed. It was only in July that we could make the counter attack. We mounted an assault on an enemy outpost and captured 70 weapons, which we used as capital to build our armed forces.

The people's hands were empty, but they were already trained in revolutionary violence, already trained in the struggle, they had already gained some experience in the struggle. So the people were capable, barehanded, of seizing arms from the enemy.

The Northern Zone rose up in an insurrection in March 1968. Only four guns were captured. We dealt the enemy some sharp blows, and we withstood his counter attacks, but the struggle was very hard.

March 30, 1968: It was the turn of the Northeast Zone for an uprising. Four or five guns were captured. Added to the three or four previously used to defend the headquarters of the Party's Central Committee, we had a total of 10 guns for the entire zone.

Only the Southeast Zone had a substantial number of guns. The other zones only had a very few. What was the quality of these

weapons? They were all old models: out of ten shots, nine were duds. We fought on despite this.

From January to May 1969, our guerrilla movement spread through the whole country. The guerrillas were in 17 of Kampuchea's 19 provinces. We took our guns in the course of battle. No zone could come directly to the aid of another, since they were very far apart. Our leading body was dispersed: it was in the Northwest, Southwest, East, Northeast and in Phnom Penh, places very far from each other, All contact involved at least a month's delay, since it meant a trip on foot or by elephant, and it was constantly necessary to evade the enemy to avoid ambush. In a month, the situation would be greatly changed, and the monthly report would no longer correspond to the new situation by the time it reached headquarters of the Central Committee at Ratanakiri. Similarly, the directives sent in reply would be outdated and could not be applied to the new situation. Because of this, the directives could only state our general line, principles and broad orientation. Each area had to rely on itself and correctly apply the political line of the Party. Despite all this, each area successfully defended, developed and consolidated its forces.

As a result, from 1968–69 to March 1970, we established these bases:

First, the support bases. In the Northeast, we had a solid support base with a population of more than 30,000. By a "support base," we mean a base which is inaccessible to the enemy. Counting the support bases in the Northwest, East and Southwest, our support bases had a population of around 60,000. A population of 60,000 in support bases is quite considerable.

Second, the guerrilla bases. Guerrilla bases come after the support bases. These are bases which we controlled solidly, but which, in spite of everything, the enemy could penetrate from time to time. In the entire country, our guerrilla bases in the years 1968–69 to March 1970 had a total population of around 300,000.

Third, the guerrilla zones. "Guerrilla zone" means a zone divided between us and the enemy. It is a combat zone. We could

penetrate it to hit the enemy, but the enemy could also penetrate it. It is a zone in great disorder. In the guerrilla zones in the country as a whole, we had a population of around 700000 people.

And so, during the civil war of the year 1968–69 to early 1970, we had a total population of more than a million people, counting the support bases, guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones in the whole country.

Such a force is not negligible. It is not measured only in numbers, it is the force of the poor and lower-middle peasants, the force of a people who have already gained experience in struggle upon struggle. It is, then, a really powerful force.

Barehanded in the beginning, we now had succeeded in building a considerable force. In 1968, we were really barehanded: we didn't have a single weapon, not one doctor, no medicine, no grain or rice. However, we dared to struggle because we had the power of the people firmly in our hands. To have the power of the people in our hands is to have at our disposal all the necessary revolutionary forces: guerrilla forces, armed forces, forces of production to support the revolutionary war. It meant we could get doctors, pharmacists, couriers, etc., it meant we could get everything we needed at both the front lines and in the rear.

As far as our Army is concerned, at the beginning of 1970, the regular units totaled only an active force of 4000 fighters for the whole country. These 4000 fighters represented a considerable force for our guerrilla war. But, it was, above all, an army with a high degree of fighting spirit.

For example, in 1968, the regular army in the Northwest had only 70 fighters, divided into seven groups. There were only three handguns for each group of ten. Besides the handguns, there would be one or two grenades, a few flintlock rifles, some poisoned arrows, and nothing else. In 1969, the force grew to 10 groups. It was only in late 1969 that it became a platoon, then in early 1970, a company. Only 30% to 40% were armed.

We were already under heavy enemy attack when we had only seven groups. In 1969, the traitor Tou Long, enemy chief of staff, the

traitors Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Saksuth Sakhon, Sosthene and nearly all the enemy military chiefs mounted a huge offensive against Ratanakiri. They engaged 18 battalions, a third of their army, with infantry units, some armoured cars, artillery and air support. Our regular army in the Northeast numbered just 150 fighters, 150 fighters who could not all fight at the same time because they did not have enough weapons. They had to split into two groups of 70 fighters, each taking turns in the fighting, because of the shortage of guns. Using the tactics of guerrilla warfare, we were able to attack the enemy, defend our support base, consolidate and extend the guerrilla base, and consolidate and extend the guerrilla zone.

Our operations were not limited to Ratanakiri Province. We penetrated Stung Treng Province, then in Mondulkiri Province, and we continued our advance, attacking deep within enemy zones. As a result, at a 1969 council meeting of the enemy cabinet, the traitor Tiou Long, as chief of staff, gave a pessimistic report, admitting that the situation in Ratanakiri was serious. The traitor Lon Nol swore that in Ratanakiri the Khmer Rouge occupied a territory equivalent to three times the area of Kompong Chnang province.

Elsewhere, the situation was no different, In the Southwest, we attacked the enemy simultaneously in the provinces of Kampot, Takeo and Kompong Speu. In the Eastern Zone, our activities reached Highway Seven. At night, our Army was in complete control of Highway Seven. Thus, in the years 1968 and 1969 and until March 1970, our regular units numbered only 4,000 fighters in the whole country, but this army had great fighting spirit.

As for our guerrilla units, in the whole country they numbered 50,000 fighters at the beginning of 1970; 50,000 guerrillas who could attack the enemy everywhere. The guerrillas would go into combat alone, or in groups of two or three, but with only one rifle, a rudimentary flintlock, or a crossbow, grenade or mine, They fought any way they could, with any kind of weapon. They were very active. They never put themselves on the defensive. They didn’t wait for the enemy, but constantly went ahead, searching for the enemy. acting on the principle of attacking in order to better defend themselves. In

order to be able to defend the support bases, they had to wage offensive actions, to attack the enemy first. It was only by attacking the enemy first, that he could be kept from coming into our zone. So the guerrilla units went into battle everywhere, since they were made up of people who lived in the area and knew in depth all the terrain, each forest, each stream, each valley.

In its operations, the enemy mobilized their infantry, tanks, artillery, transport vehicles and planes. However, in the Northeast, as in the other mountainous and jungle regions, enemy planes, tanks, artillery, and trucks lost their effectiveness. The bombs and shells fired at random in the vast forests and mountains were lost in the trees and rocks and never caused the slightest loss to our population. As to tanks and trucks, our deep forests and our mountains were inaccessible to them. There remained the infantry. Against them, we set traps, snares and hunting spears of all sorts and we cut down trees to throw obstacles across all the paths and roads. If the enemy tried to penetrate, he was at the mercy of our guerrilla units, which were the masters of the terrain, in their own forests.

This was people's war, based on guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare was waged everywhere, the guerrilla could attack anywhere.

We could thus mobilize all the people to attack the enemy without waiting for the regular units. This is what proves the effectiveness of our line of people's war based on guerrilla warfare, which was invincible.

With guerrilla units of 50,000 fighters in the whole country, we attacked all over, without letting up. Everyone, without exception, no matter where they were, looked for some way to wipe out the enemy. If every group of three guerrillas or unit of 10 guerrillas succeeded in killing or wounding one enemy soldier per day, with 50,000 guerrillas in the whole country, this would make a considerable number of enemy soldiers put out of action each day. This was how the enemy forces were continually weakened by our guerrillas. We had faith in our line of people's war. We had faith not only in arms, but in our line of people's war.

Our Army numbered 4,000 fighters and our guerrilla units, 50,000. After the coup d'état of the U.S. imperialists and the traitor Lon Nol, these units were immediately converted into regional units and units of the regular army, into regiments and battalions. These were not simply formed from the ordinary village people. They came right out of the guerrilla units, units which already had two or three years of combat behind them. These units were thus trained in combat. This was what most frightened the enemy.

U.S. imperialism, in spite of its electronic systems and spy rings everywhere, was nevertheless mistaken in its strategic evaluation of our forces. It was seriously mistaken in both its political and military estimates. In its political strategy, it assumed that, soon after the coup d'état, the puppet Lon Nol would be able to win over the "Khmer Rouge." But on the contrary, it was the revolution which united all the national and people's forces in the whole country to mount a crushing attack on U.S. imperialism. Thus, the imperialists committed an enormous strategic blunder in their political analysis.

Secondly, in their military analysis, they believed that we had no army, no military force whatever. They predicted that after the coup d'état, their combined military forces, with the cooperation of the traitor Lon Nol's army, could without difficulty crush us in a single blow. But, in fact, we already had 4000 fighters in our regular army and 40000 guerrilla units who were well-trained and seasoned in battle.

Immediately after the coup d'état, broad, spontaneous demonstrations and uprisings broke out everywhere in the country, sweeping the enemy away like a tidal wave, overpowering the enemy in entire regions and villages, communes, districts, and some provinces. Revolutionary administration was immediately set up everywhere. Tens of thousands of weapons captured from the enemy came immediately into the hands of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation, from the regular army units to the regional forces and the district, commune and village guerrilla units. We then had regular units in sufficient numbers. Together with the guerrilla units,

our armed forces moved onto the offensive everywhere in the country, advancing in a powerful offensive and with total mastery.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists made another gross strategic military blunder. But they would have been defeated even if their estimates and predictions had been correct. Even if they had gained precise information about our strengths, they could not escape defeat, because our people's war of national liberation was an invincible war.

We can describe ours as a people's war because it was a war of the people, it was the entire people who were making war, with their own movement. All the energies of the people were set in motion and hit the enemy on all fronts and in every area, with every kind of weapon, with creative spirit and initiative.

Our people's war was invincible. This was our conviction, based on our confidence and pride in our people and our Army. With our people and our Army we were able to liberate our country. Furthermore, we were confident of the power to defend it because, for one thing, we stood for justice, we stood for correct revolutionary principles, we did not violate the sovereignty of any country, we did not interfere in the internal affairs of any country, we had no aggressive designs against any country. For another thing, people's war, already waged for national liberation, is destined to assure the defense of our country. It has a scientific character issuing from the revolutionary practice of the masses and is profoundly based upon the masses.

Our women fighters were very courageous. In the history of our Army, we have had women's units, both battalions and regiments. these units took part in hand-to-hand combat on the front lines. They fought on a number of fronts, especially on the Lower Mekong, at the outskirts of Phnom Penh, where they attacked and cut off its contact with other parts of the country in 1975, as well as in Phnom Penh in the general offensive of 1975. What made this possible? It was possible because our whole people made the revolution, and because we had a powerful revolutionary movement.

Our Party's Line of Combat

Our Party also concretely defined its line of combat in great detail in order to be able to attack the enemy under any circumstances. Our line of combat was: to launch offensives continuously, giving constant play to creative spirit and initiative on every front. We waged conventional warfare and guerrilla warfare at the same time, while taking guerrilla warfare as the base in order to harass the enemy everywhere without let up, and while using conventional warfare to wipe out enemy troops. We combined large, medium and small-scale attacks, made them follow one another ceaselessly, attacked day and night, in dry season and in rainy season, relentlessly, so as not to leave the enemy time to catch their breath or reorganize, consolidate and develop their forces. We divided the enemy into smaller units, attacking the flanks, the rear, the weak points, and avoiding a frontal attack at all times.

In this way, we could attack the enemy at any time, whether our forces were small, medium-sized or large. At the same time, we could preserve our forces and wipe out the enemy to the greatest extent possible.

The line of our Party, which consists of struggling in every area and in using every form of combat, allowed us to direct strong and repeated blows against the enemy and to win victories on every front, throughout the country concretely.

At the beginning we saw that the enemy was weakest in the countryside. We combined military attacks by regular and guerrilla units, with mass insurrections to take power at the village and commune levels. Proceeding in this way, each day we enlarged our liberated regions in the countryside and forced the enemy to retreat in some isolated towns, al the same time that we tied down enemy forces in scattered positions where the communications and supplies became more and more difficult for them.

It was in this situation that we took measures to cut off the enemy's routes of strategic communications, following our line of combat, especially our tactic of dividing the enemy into smaller units.

It was in this way that from 1970 to 1974 we cut off and controlled all the enemy's strategic ground communication routes, that is, Highways One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Six and Seven. At the same time, in 1972, 1973 and 1974, we succeeded in periodically cutting off the strategic waterways. Even the Lower Mekong, on which the enemy concentrated the greatest attention, was periodically cut off in those years. When the lines of communication on ground and river were cut in 1974, the U.S. imperialists and the clique of the traitor Lon Nol found themselves extremely isolated in Phnom Penh and a few provincial capitals.

It was in this situation, when the U.S. imperialists and the Lon Nol traitor clique were in their death throes, that our Party's Central Committee, in the course of its June 1974 session, resolved to mount the decisive offensive to liberate Phnom Penh and the entire country. We dared to mount this offensive because we had completely grasped the enemy's situation and our own.

The plan of our offensive was: to attack Phnom Penh, cut off the lower Mekong and attack the provincial capitals still under the temporary control of the enemy. The control of the Lower Mekong was the key factor in the total liberation of Phnom Penh, the attacks on other towns being complementary operations.

Carrying out the decision of the Party Central Committee, during the rainy season of the year 1974, we actively prepared our forces on the political, ideological and organizational levels. At the same time, our Revolutionary Army assimilated still further our Party's line of combat at the front.

Our entire Revolutionary Army enthusiastically received the new mission of the Party and, showing the highest revolutionary heroism, were determined to carry it out at all costs, for the Party, the revolution, the working class and the people, to totally and definitively liberate Phnom Penh and the rest of the country. We readied our forces correctly and painstakingly for the final assault on Phnom Penh and for the attacks on the provincial capitals. It was thus that the decision of the Party Central Committee to liberate Phnom Penh and Kampuchea during the 1975 dry season could be totally and

perfectly carried out, following strictly the line of independence, initiative and self-reliance, and taking our destiny into our own hands.

On April 1, 1975, we liberated Neak Leuong. The U.S. imperialists shipped the traitor Lon Nol to Hawaii and changed horses, in the hopes of maneuvering after their defeat to counterattack the revolution at the moment it gained control of Phnom Penh.

On April 12, 1975, Gunther Dean, U.S, ambassador, and the U.S. military command at Phnom Penh fled in disgrace aboard a fleet of helicopters sent to rescue and evacuate them.

On April 17, 1975, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea mounted an all out assault and totally liberated Phnom Penh at 9:30 AM.

We won the great victory as the result of the final offensive for the total liberation of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people on April 17, 1975. We thus brought to a close the national democratic revolution.

The line of our Party defined in 1960 had set for us the following tasks:

1. To make the national revolution by eliminating the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, from Kampuchea;

2. To make the democratic revolution by abolishing the reactionary system of the feudalists and comprador capitalists.

We had completely realized these two tasks on April 17, 1975; the Communist Party of Kampuchea had led the struggle of our people for 15 years, the struggle of the Kampuchean people had undergone difficult and tragic tests, and some extremely complex situations. But we had a correct political line, we had the Communist Party of Kampuchea to lead us on a correct path. Thus, whatever the difficulties, we fought until the great victory of April 17, 1975.

In the course of those 15 years, our people made immense sacrifices which just added to the immense sacrifices of centuries and of millennia of past struggles. Our national anthem brings out the meaning of this struggle.

Our national anthem is not the work of one or two composers, it is the work of our whole people, who wrote it with their own blood, blood which our people generously shed over the centuries. It is a stirring call to our generation and to future generations. The sacrifices of our people are handed down and written in our national anthem. Each sentence, each word, expresses the true nature of our people's struggle. It is this blood, changed into class and national hatred, which led to the victory of April 17, 1975, and which calls us to resolutely defend people's power and our country, and to build a prosperous and peaceful Kampuchea by great leaps and bounds. This is why we entitled our national anthem, "April 17, the Glorious Victory."

We were already determined and we still are determined to do everything to transform each drop of blood shed by our heroes into a stand of resolute patriotism, into a firm class stand, in order to guard forever our territorial integrity and to lead well the work of national construction aiming to rapidly render our country prosperous, to bring our people's standard of living to a higher level in the near future, in a society where true justice, equality and harmony reign.

We have seen how many, how enormous were the sacrifices of our people. We must always honor them so as to value the bravery of our people, learn from them and reinforce and develop our heroism from generation to generation.

Let us listen to, respect and sing our national anthem, for it represents the struggle of our people. For more than 2,000 years, our people lived in disgrace and in the darkest shadows, without any light. Then the daylight shone. The brightest day of all for our people was April 17, 1975. For this reason, we made April 17 the title of our national anthem. This anthem, was composed by generations of our men and women combatants and people. Our national anthem was born following April 17, 1975, when Democratic Kampuchea was born.

Our Revolutionary Army, our fighters and our people are the real composers of our national anthem. Born on April 17, 1975, with Democratic Kampuchea, the anthem belongs to all of us.

We now know the essence of the history of our people's struggle. In order to carry out our task well, we must pay constant attention to our own revolutionary education, without consideration of rank or age. We cannot lead the work of defense and national construction well without rapidly tempering ourselves to develop solid revolutionary qualities.

The young comrades, whether single or married. must generously throw themselves into their own ideological education, overcoming all obstacles. Pledge yourselves body and soul to the revolution! Youth is a period of life in which there are very rapid changes. It 1s a time when consciousness is most receptive to revolution and when we are in full possession of our strengths.

This, then, is a general directive of our Party. It is the youth of today who will take up the revolutionary tasks of tomorrow. Also. you must continually temper yourselves, so as to provide the revolution with its relief forces. Do not disdain the small jobs, do not fear the difficulties. No matter what work the collective assigns you, apply yourself to do it well. When you do make errors, the collective will help you to correct them. This is the only way to temper yourselves. We will correct the errors in the course of our work, with the new experiences we have acquired. The more we work, the better we learn. We must regularly sum up our experiences. We want to train our young people in all sorts of work. We need cadres skilled in all tasks, as strong in combat against the aggressor as in production.

In comparison to the young, our older comrades already have a little less physical and intellectual strength. But these comrades must educate themselves in order to make a better contribution to the running of the country and to better carry out their revolutionary tasks. Those who have a long revolutionary history must not be narrowminded or opinionated. If they neglect their education, they will no longer be able to do their tasks well. In national defense and construction and in many other areas, we need tested cadres with

sound ideological and political positions. All these qualities can only be gained through constant effort.

The veteran comrades, too, must make an effort. Our Party and our revolution need all the forces and especially the tested veteran cadres who have a sound stand. It is necessary to educate ourselves no matter what our age. All our forces are capable of carrying out their tasks. We devote ourselves body and soul to the revolution because of the greatness of our tasks. We have totally liberated our country, and we have fully secured its defense. Nonetheless, to better defend it in the future, our forces must always be sound. They must make a firm and consistent commitment to the defense of our national territory from coast to coast.

We all know the Angkor of past times. Angkor was built during the slave period. It was our slaves who built it under the yoke of the exploiting classes of that time, for the enjoyment of the king. If our people were capable of building Angkor, they can do anything. Our people brought about the glorious April 17, 1975. We must lift up our nation's soul, our nation's pride, to carry out the work of national defense and construction and to secure our country's future.

The second part of my talk dealing with the national democratic revolution is over. We move now to the third part, dealing with the new period of the revolution, in which the tasks are the defense of Democratic Kampuchea, the continuation of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism in Kampuchea.

The new stage of our revolution began only two years ago. In contrast with the national democratic revolution, which covered many decades and in the course of which we had undergone many revolutionary tests and amassed vast experiences before reaching the glorious April 17, 1975, this new stage is still very short, and our experience consequently quite limited. Nonetheless, we must examine together this new period of the Kampuchean revolution, its situation and our first experiences. And, as a result of the experiences issuing from our present revolutionary practice, we will certainly improve our work.

On the New Stage of the Kampuchean Revolution, defense of the democratic revolution, continuation of the socialist revolution and socialist construction

Now let us examine and analyze the situation in Kampuchea and Kampuchean society after April 17, 1975, in order to concretely determine the contradictions and the manner of resolving them, while precisely defining the revolutionary tasks of this new period.

Firstly, with the tremendous victory of April 17, 1975, our country was totally and definitively liberated. We fully and completely regained our independence and sovereignty 100%, which we now enjoy to an extent unprecedented in the 2000-year history of our country. We are independent in every sphere: politics, economics, military affairs, culture, literature, art, social affairs, etc. We are all deeply proud and happy with this situation.

But, because we have won total independence, does this mean that we no longer face the threat of foreign enemies, foreign imperialists and reactionaries, who once again seek to make us dependent in military affairs, politics and economics, as well as in other spheres?

The concrete situation shows us clearly that foreign imperialists and reactionaries always harbor the strategic and fundamental aim of weakening our country and reconquering it.

Thus, a contradiction exists between the foreign imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand, and Democratic Kampuchea on the other. This is the contradiction with foreign enemies, who wish to commit aggression against us and annex our independent and sovereign Kampuchean territory.

This contradiction and that of the preceding period are of different natures, because, in the previous period, Kampuchea was under the yoke of the imperialists, colonialists and their lackeys, the reactionaries. Our revolutionary task, then, is no longer the same; no longer is it the revolution for national liberation and independence.

Our revolutionary task now is to defend our country, to defend Democratic Kampuchea: defend our independence, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity within our present borders, defend the worker and peasant power of our Party, and safeguard the sacred victories of the revolution. Now that we have achieved national independence, this is the primary task facing us.

Secondly, at the same time that our nation was completely liberated, so was our people, most particularly, the masses of workers, peasants and other laborers.

The workers, peasants and other laboring people constitute 90% of the population, with the peasant class alone representing 85%. Thus, when we add the workers and other toilers to the peasantry, the figure of 90% is entirely correct.

Once free, the laboring people have become the motive force which attracts and wins over the other 10% of the population. Among the capitalists, landlords and other strata who make up this 10%, there are many elements who are for the revolution, and who even take part in the revolution. Among these strata, there are some patriots who rejoice that the nation is liberated from the humiliating state of enslavement in which it had been maintained for centuries, and now is full of dignity and enjoys great prestige everywhere. These elements do not constitute a negligible force; they represent eight to nine percent of the population.

So, in all, 98% to 99% of the population has been liberated. This is an immense victory for our revolution and for all our people, because for generations, our people and nation had been enslaved by the imperialists, colonialists and reactionaries. The masses of workers, peasants and other laboring people, in particular, suffered the greatest misery.

But now, in our new and just society, are there still contradictions? If so, what are they? What forms do they take and how must they be resolved? Let us examine this with the aim of correctly defining the tasks of our revolution in its new stage.

The concrete situation of our new Kampuchean society and the excellent fact that our people have been completely liberated and

have united resources and efforts to defend and build the country energetically have not prevented our new society from encountering contradictions.

On the one hand, there are contradictions among the people, because we all carry vestiges of our old class character, deep-rooted for generations, and, after all, the transition to revolutionary proletarian character is still quite recent. We consider these to be contradictions among the people, which can be resolved by education, study, criticism and self-criticism, and periodic self-examination of our own revolutionary lifestyle, under the supervision and with the aid of the collective; all this, under the leadership of the Party. It is important to consistently carry out thorough-going educational work, which is aimed at developing collectivist and socialist ownership and gradually eliminating the idea of private ownership. Our goal is to continue to build the revolutionary strength of the people, so that each of us becomes a revolutionary of the new Kampuchea, who zealously defends and builds the country, and who contributes to the rapid raising of the people's living standards.

Our cooperatives, which are collective organizations of our people throughout the country, have demonstrated their great strength since their beginnings in 1973. During U.S. imperialism's war of devastation, the collective force constituted by the cooperatives was capable of defeating U.S. imperialism and, at the same time, of producing enough to meet the needs of the front and improve the conditions of life of all our people. Likewise, after liberation, thanks to the collective strength of the cooperatives, we were able to fully guarantee national defense, develop production, and successfully improve the living conditions of nearly eight million inhabitants of our country. All this was done in complete independence and by relying on our own resources. It is the same in other areas, The work done collectively yields excellent results, while work undertaken in an individualistic manner leads inevitably to inextricable difficulties and failure.

On the basis of this analysis of the new Kampuchean society, our Party set as its revolutionary task the carrying out of the socialist

revolution with greater energy, greater firmness and in greater depth, thus to guarantee success in all areas, both presently and in the future.

Similarly, within the new Kampuchean society, there are life-and-death contradictions owing to the presence of enemy agents, who belong to the various spy networks of the imperialists and international reaction and who secretly implant themselves to carry out subversive activities against our revolution.

These antagonistic contradictions are also due to another infamous handful of reactionary elements, who carry out their counter-revolutionary work and seek to destroy our Kampuchean revolution. These elements are small in number, one to two percent of the population. Some camouflage themselves and try to pass for the people, while others work openly.

We do not consider these traitors, these counterrevolutionary elements, to be part of the people. They are enemies of Democratic Kampuchea, of the Kampuchean revolution and of the Kampuchean people. Contradictions with these elements must be solved by the measures proper for enemies: separate, educate and win over the elements which can be won over; neutralize the elements which are wavering, preventing them from doing any damage to the revolution; and, finally, isolate and eradicate only the smallest possible number of those elements who are cruel and persist in acting against the revolution and the people, and collaborate with foreign enemies to destroy their own people and their own revolution.

Thirdly, we have all just seen that our people, 90% of whom are workers, peasants and other laboring people, have liberated themselves. In addition, there are also patriotic elements, constituting eight to nine percent of the population, who followed and joined the revolution. This comes to a total of 98% to 99%.

To liberate 98% to 99% of the population, especially the working people, is to liberate a vast productive force. Historical materialism has clearly shown that man is the determining factor in production. So, our people—who, in the past were a wasted force, suffering unspeakable humiliations and brutal exploitation, deprived of all initiative and any chance of working to improve their

conditions, who could not build up their country and make it prosper- today, our people are free. They have smashed the old system of production, which was based upon exploitation.

Should we stop there or take on new tasks? We must continue to consolidate and develop new, independent, equal and collective relations of production in order to increase production, build up the country and raise the people's living standards by great leaps and bounds. All this was completely unknown in the exploitative and oppressive old society, under the old relations of production. It is for these reasons that the Party has set socialist construction in all areas of Democratic Kampuchea as its new task.

To sum up, according to our analysis of the situation in Kampuchea and Kampuchean society after liberation on April 17, 1975, our revolutionary tasks are as follows:

> (1) To defend Democratic Kampuchea with determination, to defend its independence, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity within our present borders, to defend the worker and peasant state power of the Party and to defend the sacred conquests of our revolution to the best of our ability.
>
> (2) To continue to improve and deepen the socialist revolution: concretely, to continue the consolidation and the development of the socialist collective system in every area.
>
> (3) To concentrate all efforts to build socialism in Democratic Kampuchea, that is to build socialism better and faster in all fields.

In the light of the new tasks of our revolution, let us now examine our work, the favorable conditions and the difficulties, the strengths and weaknesses, the unity and the contradictions, and the manner in which we have resolved these contradictions.

As I have already indicated, the new period of our revolution began only two years ago. Thus, we are not yet in a position to draw

definitive conclusions. We must gradually learn from our experiences, perfect our work and continue to advance in pursuit of the new tasks of our revolution.

In the course of this period, in which we have made the socialist revolution and built socialism in our country, we can say that we have tried hard, and we have achieved goop results. However, the road ahead is a long one.

Generally, in carrying out the tasks of our revolution, we have encountered favorable conditions, as well as difficulties of all sorts, and we have some strengths and weaknesses, both from the subjective and objective points of view. But, in summing up, our strengths predominate, and we are gradually advancing towards success in carrying out the new tasks of our revolution.

I am now going to give a concise summary in two parts. The first deals with the situation of the socialist revolution, which we consider to be the important and fundamental basis for the accomplishment of the new tasks of our revolution. The second part deals with the situation in the mass revolutionary movement in defense of the country and for the building of socialism.

The General Situation of the Socialist Revolution

The general situation of the socialist revolution in Kampuchea is on the whole good. We have solidly laid the foundations of our collectivist socialism, and we are continually improving them, while consolidating and developing them. Concretely:

1. The old relations of production, based upon exploitation and oppression, have been abolished and the new, independent, equal, socialist and collective production order is being gradually consolidated and developed.

2. The forces of production, especially the laboring people representing 90% of the population, are completely liberated. They are undergoing a transformation and arc now developing into a

tremendous strong movement for production, full of enthusiasm, vitality, initiative and creative spirit. This immense force, which was sleeping for centuries because of its oppression at the hands of various exploiting classes, has awakened and is bravely and vigorously moving into action.

3. The collective peasant cooperatives throughout the country, which were founded in 1973 during the air war waged by U.S. imperialism, are developing and being strengthened, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Since their founding in 1973, the cooperatives have passed many tests and are successfully serving the revolutionary movement in every area. During the war, the cooperatives were the source of everything: manpower for the Army, the economy, transport and other areas. After the war, they were given the task of promoting production, thus improving the living conditions of the people. They carried this out in complete independence, relying on their own strength, and have taken full responsibility for supporting and feeding the new people, completely liberated on April 17, 1975.

Presently, our cooperatives are collective units, very solid from the political, ideological and organizational point of view. They are carrying out their revolutionary tasks well, transforming our once barren, arid and miserable countryside into a countryside each day more luxuriant, provided with reservoirs of every size, networks of canals covered with rice paddies and green fields. Each cooperative has become a small collectivist society, an entirely new society, freed from corrupt and depraved culture and traditions. It is a new healthy society, which is consolidating and developing itself constantly, where equality and harmony prevail. The living conditions such as food, health services, culture and education, are being consolidated and developed.

While strengthening and developing qualitatively, our cooperative units also continue to increase in size. On the average, 50% of the cooperatives are made up of 700 to 1,000 families, 30% of 400 to 600 families, and 20% of 100 to 300 families. One can see

that, in general, our cooperatives are on the scale of communes. Only a small number still remain the size of villages.

4. Apart from the aforementioned questions, we continue to operate without the use of money, with no daily salary. Our entire people, our Revolutionary Army, all our cadres and all our fighters live in a collective system through a communal support system, which is being improved with every passing day. This is a successful step toward the solution of the contradictions between the cities and the countryside, between the workers and the peasants, between manual workers and intellectuals, between the cadres and the masses, between the economic infrastructure and the superstructure. We continue to solve these contradictions in accordance with the nature of the contradictions themselves. However, we already have initial sketches and basic plans for future work. We have endeavored to follow the concrete experience of our movement, in order to improve, promote, consolidate and develop this experience, so it will correctly serve our revolutionary movement.

5. There is another important aspect of the situation which gives us cause for celebration and strengthens our confidence in the revolutionary movement. This is the immense power of our people, who are enthusiastically and eagerly participating in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Concretely, all those who, in the old society, belonged to the class of poor and lower-middle peasants are fully satisfied with the collective system and with the cooperatives, and they support them with all their hearts.

Formerly, they and their families could only provide for themselves for two to five months of the year. To be able to survive the rest of the year, they were obliged to abandon their homes, their villages and rice paddies to go to work as pedicab drivers and porters at a miserable wage. Now, they eat well all year long. Their living standard is up to that of the middle peasants of the old society. What is more, they have doctors and medicines in their cooperatives. They are learning to read, to write and do arithmetic. They are benefiting

from political education, which broadens their understanding daily. More important, they themselves have the power to direct and manage their cooperatives.

Thus, they have become the true masters of the lands, the rice paddies, harvests, indeed, of the fruits of their labor. In a word, they have fully gained their dignity. These former poor and lower-middle peasants represent 75% of the total population. This immense force is very powerful in its numbers, but, even more, in its revolutionary force.

As for those who were middle peasants and petty bourgeoisie in the old society, they are equally satisfied with the collectivist system of the cooperatives. So far as their food supply is concerned, their situation has not changed. But, even more than the guarantee that they and their families will have enough to eat, they are now also fully assured of adequate medical care. In addition, they have access to education, culture and political study, which opens broader and broader spectrums to them, permitting them to become revolutionary and patriotic citizens of new Kampuchea, who each day grow more aware politically. Finally, the practice of democratic centralism fully guarantees them the right to participate in the leadership and management of the cooperatives.

The former middle peasants and petty bourgeoisie make up 20% of the total population. Added to the 75% above, this constitutes 95% of the people. This figure represents a powerful force from the standpoint of politics, as well as of ideology, organization, and proficiency in all branches of activity, especially in production, and raising the living standard and national defense. They are a motive force, who bring with them the remaining 5%, most of whom are patriots and want to take part in the revolution. From the strictly material viewpoint, the living standard of this 5% has fallen in some respects, because in the cooperatives, the living standard is only that of middle peasant.

But this standard of living is perfectly adequate. What is important to them, however, is that they can see with their own eyes that our country has at last become independent, our people are truly

worthy of admiration, our countryside is being completely transformed, and the future of our country and people is bright. Many things reinforce their confidence in the new revolutionary regime. They can be thus assured that under the new system their children will grow up honorably and be made into good citizens and patriots, who are devoted to the people and take part in the work of national defense and national construction. They will make the contributions they should to the prosperity and greatness of their country. In the old days, our people never imagined these things were possible. Among this five percent, at least three to four percent are for the revolution.

Thus, to summarize, 98% to 99% of the population are for the revolution. They make the socialist revolution and build socialism with all their heart, and they have complete confidence in the bright future of our country and people.

6. Along with the five factors listed above, there is another important one: the implementation of the Party's dictatorship of the proletariat in all areas of our revolutionary activity.

We promote broad democracy among the people by a correct application of democratic centralism, so that this immense force will mobilize enthusiastically and rapidly for socialist revolution and construction, at great leaps and bounds forward. As in the past, this force, full of spirit and enthusiasm, full of creativity and initiative, is taking part in defense of the country, in socialist revolution and construction. When the strength of all our people is unleashed, the revolution is already victorious. Our revolutionary movement during the 5 years of war of national liberation has shown that was true. Our revolutionary movement at this time confirms that this is always true.

On the other hand, we absolutely, without hesitation, apply the dictatorship of the proletariat to our enemies and to the tiny handful of reactionary elements who oppose the revolution, who seek to destroy it, who sell out to the foreign imperialists and reactionaries in order to ruin their own nation, their own people and their own revolution.

The general situation of our socialist revolution shows that we have laid the foundations of our collectivist socialism. Therefore, we must continue to strengthen them, develop and improve them unceasingly.

The situation of the Kampuchean Revolution in the area of national defense and socialist construction in all fields

Regarding our efforts to defend Democratic Kampuchea, safeguard our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within our present borders, and preserve the worker-peasant state power of our Party, and the fruits of victory of our revolution, we have totally succeeded. We have defended, safeguarded, and preserved all these things on the basis of the principles of independence and initiative.

All of our comrades and our people have now completely grasped the line and the stand of our Party and the government of Democratic Kampuchea. Our Kampuchean people adhere to the sacred principles of living peacefully, honorably, and as masters of their own country. They are building a national society in conformity with their profound aspirations and with a line which they have chosen for themselves.

In the past, our people were forced to live the lowly existence of slaves. Our country was plundered and oppressed by foreign reactionaries, feudalists, colonialists and imperialists. We lost much of our territory. Our present borders are the distressing result of successive waves of foreign aggressions, expansions and annexations.

Since April 17, 1975, when Kampuchea was totally and fully liberated, the people have become the true masters of our country and our destiny. Our people have a strong and correct sense of patriotism. Although their history has been one of misery, our people do not dig up past grudges, but turn their attention toward the present and the future.

Our people do not harbor animosity towards anyone, nor have we any intention of committing aggression or expanding our territory at the expense of anyone else. We don't want even one inch of anyone else's land. Ours is a small country with a small population. The political system of Democratic Kampuchea absolutely does not permit us to aggress against any country. A small and weak country does not usually go and swallow a big country. World history records that it is only the reactionary ruling classes of big countries, those of the Hitler type, who invent pretexts to provoke and accuse small countries of encroachment, and then use these pretexts to justify their own aggression and expansionism.

Democratic Kampuchea has no reason to commit aggression against anybody. We have an area of 181,000 square kilometers with upwards of six million hectares of farmland. Our Tonle Sap Lake, Tonle Sap River, Mekong River, Basac River and ponds and lakes abound in fish. Our dense forests, soil and subsoil have rich natural resources. We have only eight million people. In terms of land under cultivation, each peasant household can handle an average of five hectares of land. In view of this, Democratic Kampuchea has absolutely no need to annex anybody's land. Moreover, we have just come out of a war of tremendous devastation. We need all the time and all the strength that we can muster, in order to build up our country and improve and raise our people's living standard in as short a time as possible. We very much need and treasure our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We are striving constantly to develop close, friendly relations with all the countries in the world, both near and far, as is evidenced by the visits of Kampuchean delegations to many countries around the world, beginning in 1975, immediately after the liberation of our country.

We also resolutely respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries. However, our people and our Revolutionary Army are determined to defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within our present borders. Today, our Kampuchean people have taken the destiny of their country into their own hands. This has become possible because of the history of

bitter, tortuous and heroic struggles, and the innumerable sacrifices which resulted in the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs on April 17, 1975, Thereafter, these people will absolutely never allow anyone lo aggress, interfere, subvert, provoke or violate our country, or alter its border. This correct stance of our people has won support of friends near and far, on the five continents, because it is just. Over the last 2 years, despite many problems we have had to solve since the war's end, our people and our Revolutionary Army firmly grasping the nature of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and all forms of reactionary enemies, and constantly maintaining revolutionary vigilance, have smashed all attempts at aggression, subversion, provocation by enemies of all kinds. We have successfully protected, strengthened and expanded the fruits of the revolution, the state power of the revolution, and totally safeguarded the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and borders of our country by relying on principles of complete independence, initiative and self-reliance. Our success in this has created excellent conditions for the better defense of Kampuchea and has given us a great opportunity to plunge deeper into the building of our country.

Our Democratic Kampuchea once again solemnly declares that we will absolutely not provoke any country and we resolutely and firmly stand on the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and equality.

Our task of national defense has been very successful up to now. Nevertheless, we have to keep a high level of revolutionary vigilance in order to be on the alert against all potentially aggressive and provocative attempts by the enemy.

In the effort for national reconstruction, our Party bases itself on the concrete conditions in the country. Ours is a backward agricultural country, which has been devastated by the destructive war of aggression waged by U.S. imperialism. With complete confidence, we rely on the powerful revolutionary spirit, experience and creative ingenuity of our people. We take agriculture as the basic factor and use the fruits of agriculture to build industry, in order to rapidly transform Kampuchea from a backward agricultural state into

a modernized one. We also intend to rapidly transform the backward, agricultural Kampuchea into an industrialized country by standing firmly on the principles of independence, initiative and self-reliance.

In the field of agriculture, our Party has focused on solving the key problem of water conservation in order to maximize rice production, which is the fundamental staple food.

In the past dry season of 1977, the people of our cooperatives built many large water reservoirs in every village and region, each with a storage capacity of 100 million to 200 million cubic meters of water; medium-sized reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic meters of water; and small reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic meters of water in every district. Together, these reservoirs contain 2.8 billion cubic meters of water, including the waters in canals, which have a total length of several hundred kilometers. These projects can irrigate rice fields of about 250,000 hectares in both rainy and dry seasons. The people of the cooperatives also built five dams on the Prek Thnot Stream to aid the irrigation of 60,000 hectares of farmland; two dams on the Chinit Stream for the irrigation of 20,000 hectares of farmland; three dams on the Pursat Stream for the irrigation of 30,000 hectares of farmland; one dam on the Battambang Stream for the irrigation of 40,000 hectares of farmland; and other dams on the Scam Reap, Knabanh and other smaller streams. In total, in 1977 our cooperative peasants built all sorts of water projects, which solved the water problem during all seasons, dry as well as rainy, for 400,000 hectares of farmland. All of these have been built by our workers and peasants relying entirely on their own efforts, with their own bare hands and their hoes.

At the same time a vigorous mass movement to collect and produce natural fertilizers and agricultural chemicals from locally abundant natural raw materials has also made progress. During 1976, we collected about 80% of the rice crop, in accordance with our plan. This provided us with enough food for our people, an average of 312 kilograms per capita, and also enabled us in 1977 to begin exporting tens of thousands of tons of rice, in order to accumulate capital for

our national defense and construction efforts. Natural rubber and other agricultural products are also being produced.

In industry, our Party also bases itself on the concrete conditions in the country, paying special attention to the factories, which serve agricultural production and the people's livelihood. With this in mind, we have built many new factories, and we have repaired and converted existing ones which were previously dependent on foreign raw materials into factories which now rely basically on locally available raw materials.

Along with industry, we are paying great attention to the expansion of handicrafts at the level of various local and regional production units, in order to help accelerate economic growth. Our aim is to set up, consolidate and gradually develop large, medium and small industrial and handicraft networks in Phnom Penh, various villages, districts, sections and cooperatives, and to strengthen and expand them steadily.

In the field of culture and education, our Party's aim is to learn through the practice of serving the movement to defend and build the country. Theory goes with actual practice, study with the actual serving of the production movement. Our schools in the cooperatives and the factories are very important. Our education has a strong national and mass base. At this time, efforts are being made to expand the learning of science and technology. In the immediate future, our important goal is to eradicate illiteracy. In the old society, there were some grade schools, high schools, colleges and universities, but in the countryside, 75% of the people were illiterate, especially the poor and lower-middle peasants. Even in the cities, 65% of the working people were illiterate. Now, after just two years of national liberation, only 10% of the adult population remains illiterate. We are solving this problem through the mass line and with compulsory mass education.

Education in the old society, copied from foreign systems, was alien to the concrete conditions of the country. It was incapable of defending and building the country, and incapable of improving the people's livelihood. It was totally reliant on foreign aid. Now, in order to serve the movement to defend and build the country well and

rapidly, many movements to learn science and technology have been launched. We learn through experimentation and work at the same time, and through summing up our experiences. Technology, culture and theory are learned simultaneously. Technological knowledge of rice production, rubber production and other industrial technology has been mastered to a great extent. We can see that our present system of education effectively serves the movement to defend and build the country and to improve the people's livelihood. Along with this, our children, youth, workers, peasants, men and women combatants have also received education in revolutionary patriotism. They all know quite clearly who are the enemies and who are the friends of their revolution and of the people's revolutionary movements for national liberation around the world. They firmly stand on the side of the revolutionary people of the world.

In the field of social welfare and public health; we have been successful. In order to keep the whole people healthy, our Party has founded a revolutionary medical corps made up of people who have a high sense of sacrifice and dedication to producing medicines from local ingredients and natural herbs. Our medical personnel deepen their medical skills while carrying out actual work. We have expanded the pharmaceutical center and are building hospitals in Phnom Penh, in cooperatives, villages, districts and sectors throughout the country. On an average, for every 100 families in the cooperatives, there is a hospital building with three nurses and one pharmacist. Our people's health is rapidly becoming excellent. We have successfully wiped out various social diseases and addictions. We are now concentrating on the eradication of malaria. In the past year, which was the first of the four-year plan for the eradication of malaria, we achieved 70% to 80% of our program's objectives. We must continue striving to raise rapidly the people's standard of living and improve their health, because we need to increase our Kampuchean population to 15 to 20 million over the next 10 years. As for the decadent remnants of the previous society, left over from

imperialism and the exploiting classes, like *lumpenism*,[11] prostitution and other crimes; these have been completely wiped out by the great mass movement to "clean up and wipe out."

The good results thus achieved by our Kampuchean people under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in the past years constitute great new victories in the present phase of our Kampuchean revolution.

However, to fulfil the expressed desires of our people, we still have a long way to go. We must double our efforts, rapidly raise the standard of living of our people in all fields even further, so that each person continues to be strong and healthy and have a resolute: sense of patriotism and so the Kampuchean population can increase in number rapidly enough to effectively defend and build our Kampuchea into a prosperous and developed country by leaps and bounds. We have no reason to reduce our population or to level it off. Today, our population, which is nearly eight million, falls short of the country's potential need, which is for more than 20 million people. Therefore, our aim is to increase the population as quickly as possible.

At present, although our people's standard of living has not reached the point of affluence, the people are at a level at which they are basically assured of all needs in all fields, for all people, without exception. Compared with 1975, when the devastating war had just ended, at present, we have made considerable progress.

This is what I would like to tell you about our achievements so far in the fields of national defense and socialist construction in our country.

Many friendly people and countries are rejoicing at the successful achievements of our Kampuchean people. They have expressed great sympathy and support for us.

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[11] This being the *lumpenproletariat* (criminals, vagabonds, and rejects of society who are neither workers, nor bourgeoisie, nor petty-bourgeoisie, nor even peasants, but are often unlanded and forced to perform illicit activities; they do not qualify as any real or consolidated class).

Our Party and our people regard the sympathy, encouragement and solidarity from friends near and far, all over the world, as the most powerful support for our political stand of independence, initiative and self-reliance, and our politics of independence, sovereignty, neutrality and nonalignment. Our Party and our people take this opportunity to express our most sincere thanks to those friends, near and far.

Our Party and our people firmly believe that their efforts to carry out the revolution in our country well, to defend and build the country, and to rapidly raise the standard of living of our people, while upholding the principles of independence, initiative and self-reliance, are a small contribution to the revolutionary movements of the world's people in the struggle for national liberation for those people whose countries are under oppression, and to the struggle to defend independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, especially the nonaligned and third world countries.

If we take a look at the world situation, we find that it is favorable to the people and the revolution. The oppressed people and nations, the people of the nonaligned countries and the third world countries have achieved a high political awareness. They are beginning to be firmly convinced of their own strengths, to know their allies and to have a high level of understanding of the true nature of the policies of imperialism and expansionism. They are resolutely taking their destiny into their own hands. At the same time, they are greatly tightening their unity with one another, in order to smash and wipe out all attempts by imperialists and expansionist great powers of all kinds to create disunity, division and dissension. This is a powerful historical tide which no force on earth can stop. The revolutionary and progressive people of the world will certainly score more victories. Our Party and the people of Kampuchea must exert all our efforts to contribute to this historical tide and surge forward more powerfully.

I lend the presentation of my report in our mass meeting here, having described the history and the line of our people's movements, from the beginning up to the present, on the occasion of the

Seventeenth Anniversary of the founding of our Party, as well as on the occasion of the official unveiling of our Party. The essence of the line of our Party, the revolutionary movement of our people, our Revolutionary Army and our men and women combatants is so far-reaching that it cannot be described in totality here.

What I have described is just a sketch of the general view, made with the desire to explain to you the aim of our country's revolutionary movement from the beginning up to now. Ata later date, we will meet to consolidate, expand and deepen our discussions on each problem. We must study, sum up and learn from the experiences of our people's revolutionary movement, in order to build our Party, ourselves and our forces, promote our revolutionary movement, and repay the service of our fallen people and comrades-in-arms, who died leaving their achievements in our firm grasp. These achievements now belong to all of us, therefore, we must strengthen and develop them. With due revolutionary humility, we can say that the situation of our revolution to date has been excellent. From all points of view, the situation is excellent, in qualitative as well as quantitative change.

None of the splendid results of our work in the past would have been possible without the monumental efforts exerted by our people of all generations, by our Revolutionary Army in all its successive stages, and by the men and women combatants and cadres in all ministries and departments. All of us have endeavored with the highest sense of revolutionary responsibility to carry out our revolutionary tasks well under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Only under its guidance could we have achieved such excellent results. Our journey has been long, considering the length of the revolutionary movements in our country. However, at the same time, we must have revolutionary humility. We must see our victory as a great victory, but we must also see that our tasks are still numerous and more difficult: defending the country, safeguarding Democratic Kampuchea, protecting the Kampuchean revolution, preserving worker-peasant state power, and the heavy task of building the country rapidly into a prosperous and glorious country, so as to

raise our people's standard of living and bring happiness and glory to our people, as well as contribute to the well-being of the revolutionary people of the world.

In conclusion, on behalf of the entire Communist Party of Kampuchea, I express best wishes to comrade representatives of the workers and peasants, Revolutionary Army, ministries, and all departments who are in this meeting, and, through you, I would also like to extend best wishes to all comrades, workers, peasants and combatants who could not come to this meeting. May all of you enjoy good health, great strength, sharp vigilance and complete success in vigorously carrying out all the tasks entrusted to you by the Party.

CHINA GREETS KAMPUCHEAN LEADER (28 September 1977)

From *The Call* 6, no. 39 (October 10, 1977).

"The general situation of the revolution is excellent!" These were the words of Pol Pot, leader of the Kampuchean Communist Party and Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) at a banquet welcoming him in China last week.

[…]

In his banquet speech, Pol Pot outlined some of the main achievements of the revolution since Kampuchea was liberated from the control of U.S. imperialism and its puppets in April 1975. He said that the population of the country was still about eight million (exposing the absurd fabrication by the imperialists that two million people have been "massacred" since the revolution). The Kampuchean leader described the gains that have been made in education, medical care and agriculture. He pointed out that illiteracy has been reduced by over 80%, that sufficient rice is available for every family and that a medical clinic is now available for every 100 families.

Pol Pot stressed that the mass storm of revolution had swept aside much of the legacy left over from the days of imperialism and colonialism. He also stated unequivocally that Kampuchea would defend itself against any aggression towards its territory. This was a clear warning to the superpowers who have tried to prod neighboring countries into attacking Kampuchea.

SECRETARY POL POT'S SPEECH IN CHINA (29 September 1977)

From *Peking Review*, 20, no. 41 (1977): 22–30

Respected and Beloved Chairman Hua Guofeng,
Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Yeh Jianying,
Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping,
Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian,
Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Wang Dongxing,
Other Respected Chinese Leading Comrades,
Your Excellencies, Respected Heads of Diplomatic Missions and Mesdames,

Dear Comrades,

It is with infinite pleasure that we of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have come to Peking, the great capital of the great and glorious People's Republic of China, in response to the kind, revolutionary, fraternal invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China.

In the name of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, we of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea wish to extend our high revolutionary fraternal greetings and express our warmest and deepest revolutionary friendship to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Guofeng, to the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the fraternal Chinese people.

We are particularly elated and rejoiced by the fact that our delegation, from the moment of arrival in your capital Peking, has been immersed in a rousing, joyful and warm atmosphere and accorded the warmest and most cordial kinsman-like welcome and

reception by Comrade Chairman Hua Gufeng, Comrade Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping, Comrade Vice Chairman Li Xiannian and many other leading Chinese comrades as well as numerous Chinese comrades-in-arms and Chinese people. This is a great honour given through our delegation to the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. We consider this reception and welcome accorded to us by comrades as a vivid testimony of the great, unbreakable and everlasting militant solidarity and revolutionary friendship between our two Parties, our two peoples and our two governments. For this, our delegation expresses its heartiest and deepest gratitude.

Tonight, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China give in honour of our Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea this most sumptuous, warm and cordial banquet. The speech full of warm and profound sentiments of revolutionary fraternal friendship just made by Chairman Hua Guofeng is a great encouragement to us and also a powerful support to our revolution and our people. We express to you our heartfelt thanks.

Comrades and friends,

We Kampuchean people have always followed with sustained interest the efforts made by the fraternal Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction following Chairman Mao Zedong's brilliant line under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Guofeng. After the passing away of Chairman Mao Zedong and in a situation in which the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have won the great victory of smashing the anti-Party "Gang of Four," there was held under the direction of Chairman Hua Guofeng the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party,

which concluded its work with great success in all fields while holding high the great revolutionary banner of Chairman Mao.

At the same time, we are particularly happy to see that Chairman Hua Guofeng, with his noble revolutionary qualities, was elected by the congress to the high office of Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in succession to Chairman Mao Zedong, in conformity with Chairman Mao's noble behest and with the strong desire of the Chinese Communist Party, the army and the entire people. Chairman Hua, who had the full confidence of Chairman Mao, is his worthy successor and the wise leader enjoying the greatest trust of the Chinese Party, the army and the 800 million Chinese people. We extend to him once again our sincere and warm congratulations.

Together with the fraternal Chinese Party, army and people, we particularly rejoice at the great victories the Chinese comrades have scored in all fields over the past year. The Chinese comrades, showing lofty revolutionary heroism and holding high the great red banner of Chairman Mao, turned their deep grief upon the passing of their great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and that of Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Chu The and other leading comrades into an immense strength of the whole nation and people, which overcame the big earthquakes, serious droughts and other serious natural calamities and other great difficulties and seized great and admirable victories.

We are also very glad to see that, led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and holding high the fighting banner, the Chinese Party and army and the entire fraternal Chinese people thoroughly smashed the sinister conspiratorial activities of the "Gang of Four." This great victory brought about an excellent situation in China. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua, the whole nation, the whole people and the whole army of your country, full of revolutionary optimism and united as one, are adhering to Chairman Mao's glorious line and striving for the

fulfilment of the tasks of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

We are happy to see that in a situation in which all the active forces of the 800 million fraternal Chinese people were brought into play and under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry and other great conferences were successfully held, which gave a vigorous impetus to the proud and orderly march of the 800 million Chinese people, who are united as one and filled with warm revolutionary optimism.

In this excellent situation, the publication and wide distribution of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* was a major political event for the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.[12]

We are glad that while the 800 million great Chinese people were consolidating and strengthening their unity and fighting actively on all fronts of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was held with all-round and great success, and particularly the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was crowned with great victory. This was a momentous victory not only in the history of the Chinese Communist Party but also a great victory for the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revolutionary people of the world.

It was in this excellent situation that the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall was completed and has opened its doors for the Chinese people and their friends around the world to come to pay respects to the remains of Chairman Mao and extend their revolutionary homage, with full confidence in the great Chinese revolution and the world revolutionary movement.

We feel particularly happy that the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and

[12] Editor's Note: A new edition of this was published by Paris: Foreign Languages Press.

the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and, after the smashing of the "Gang of Four," defined more explicitly the task of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, namely, "persevering in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, in the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." At the same time, "it is necessary to turn China into a powerful socialist country with modernized agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of this century, so that economically China may advance to the forefront in the world."

We firmly believe that the 800 million fraternal Chinese people will fulfil this lofty revolutionary task because:

—the great revolutionary mass movements are in full swing in all fields, in particular those inspired by Tachai and Taching,
—their advance is always illuminated by the great banner of Chairman Mao,
—they are guided by the wise leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Hua,
—the 35 million Party members are animated with a highly militant spirit,
—they have the heroic People's Liberation Army,
—they have all the material conditions as the basis.

We are most happy to note that the international standing and prestige of the People's Republic of China are ever rising. This is because the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China uphold Marxism-Leninism, genuine proletarian internationalism and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Marxist-Leninist Parties, the revolutionary people and the oppressed people the world over and the third world people as well as friends, far and near, from

the five continents all welcome, respect and praise this stand and political line of the Chinese Party and Government.

Comrades and friends,

All the great victories won in the Chinese revolution from one stage to another are due to the immense merits of the Chinese people's great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Zedong. In the sphere of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao summarized valuable experiences and led the Chinese people in seizing the great victory of liberating the whole of China and founding the great and glorious People's Republic of China. This brought about an earth-shaking change in the situation in Asia and the world as a whole, and particularly, it constituted a great encouragement and spur to the revolutionary movement for national and people's liberation of the oppressed people the world over. Following Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Chairman Mao Zedong and his thought have triumphantly stood the test of successive revolutionary storms and have become a brilliant beacon illuminating the path of the revolution of national and people's liberation all over the world. More precisely, it is the most effective and sharp ideological and political weapon which infallibly guides our struggle to victory.

In the concrete revolutionary struggle of our country, we creatively and successfully applied Mao Zedong Thought—from the time we had only empty hands down to April 17, 1975 when we thoroughly defeated U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and totally liberated Kampuchea and its people, and when the workers and peasants took over political power in the whole country. Our people and the revolutionary people of the world deeply believe that Mao Zedong Thought is always efficacious, sharp and victorious. It consists mainly of teachings on building the Party into a solid leading core, on the establishment of a powerful national united front, on the building of a heroic revolutionary army as well as those on the analysis of the classes in society, on contradiction, on practice, on the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas, on the role of the

countryside and cities in the revolutionary struggle, on revolutionary violence, on the strategy and tactics of people's war, on revolutionary culture, literature and art, etc.

Chairman Mao also made very great contributions to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. He correctly posed the question of distinguishing the contradictions among the people from those between the people and the enemy and very correctly handled them. In the course of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao initiated in his lifetime ten struggles between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary lines. Chairman Mao initiated the socialist revolutionary movement. In the course of the socialist education movement, especially during the deep-going Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he emphasized the necessity of holding high the banner of revolution, carrying on the class struggle and continuing the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to this line, "throughout the historical period of socialism, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle. It is necessary to persist in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is a most correct and excellent line for the proletariat already in power. In leading the glorious practice of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, Chairman Mao resolutely resisted and opposed the counter-revolutionary forces and forces betraying the proletarian revolution, which vainly attempted inside China and internationally to divert the revolutionary forces from the track of Marxism-Leninism, After Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Chairman Mao made great contributions to the socialist revolution in China and the world.

As for our Kampuchean revolution, the most precious aid provided by Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people has been Mao Zedong Thought. Chairman Mao always personally supported and encouraged us, for which we wish to express our most profound respect to him—China's great, staunch and heroic communist fighter, great and outstanding proletarian

internationalist fighter, great Marxist-Leninist teacher of the. Present era and the greatest comrade-in-arms of the Kampuchean people. Chairman Mao's monumental contributions to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world are immortal!

Comrades and friends!

In recent years, the world situation has been developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people and revolution and unfavourable to imperialism and all reactionaries.

The revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people of the world, the people of the non-aligned countries and the third world, the national-liberation struggles, the struggles to safeguard independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to master their own destiny as well as the struggles to build their own countries have been conspicuously unfolded and increasingly expanding, and a momentous situation has emerged. This is a powerful tide which no force on earth can stem. This new situation heartens the people of the whole world and fills them with more confidence while further throwing the imperialists, expansionists and all types of reactionaries into panic. The people of the world, particularly the people of the non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the people of the third world, persisting in struggle and constantly seizing victories, have turned the situation even more favourable to the revolutionary cause of the world and the national-liberation cause of. The people.

Faced with this situation, the imperialists, expansionists and reactionaries of all kinds, who have suffered and are suffering massive defeats, are energetically carrying on their despicable and sinister activities in different parts of the world in an attempt to arrest the impetus of the people's struggle. They persist in their subversive activities, threats and lying propaganda campaigns in an attempt to create in the minds of the people dependence and servility. They interfere in domestic affairs, provoke conflicts and create contradictions so as to divide the peoples' movement by diverse means and sow dissension in the ranks of the non-aligned and third

world countries. But the peoples of the non-aligned and third world countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have acquired more and more experiences and become increasingly aware of the cruel, savage and obstinate nature of the imperialists, expansionists and all types of reactionaries as well as their expansionist ambitions, their aggressive motives and their perfidious and sinister maneuvers. That's why the peoples of the world, and particularly the peoples of the nonaligned and third world countries, have not ceased to fight against them.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, who suffered cruelly from the barbarous acts of the imperialists, expansionists and reactionaries in the course of their history and who fought in concert with the oppressed and exploited peoples in the world, stand resolutely and always on the side of the oppressed peoples in the world, and especially on the side of the peoples of the non-aligned and third world countries, for the revolutionary cause of national and people's liberation and for the defence of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to decide their own destinies.

We stand firmly on the side of the Chinese people for resolving the Taiwan problem in accordance with the just position of the People's Republic of China.

We stand firmly on the side of the Korean people for the reunification of their fatherland in accordance with the correct policy advocated by President Kim Il Sung.

We stand firmly on the side of the people of East Timor for resolving the problem of East Timor in accordance with the just position of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN).

We stand firmly on the side of the Palestinian people for achieving their national rights, the right to decide their own destiny and the right to found their own independent state on Palestinian soil. We also stand firmly on the side of the Arab peoples for the liberation of their territories occupied by the Israeli Zionists.

We stand firmly on the side of the Zimbabwean, Namibian and Azanian peoples against Vorster's barbarous colonialist regime of apartheid and against Ian Smith's racism.

We are resolutely united with all poor countries in their struggle to eliminate the economic order based on exploitation and plunder by the rich great powers and for a truly just and equitable new international economic order.

We are resolutely united with all peoples in the poor countries in the struggle to establish a new law of the sea based on equality and justice, to defend their sovereignty and maritime resources, to fix limits for their exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles and to abolish the privilege of exclusive control of the seas by the rich great powers.

We fully support the use of the weapon of oil and other raw materials in the fight against the imperialists, expansionists and other reactionaries.

We are working hard to carry out the revolution of our country well, to defend and build our country well, to improve rapidly the living standards of our people by upholding the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance and surmounting all obstacles to make our modest contribution to the movement of the revolutionary struggle, to the movement of the struggle for national and people's liberation, to the movement of the struggle to defend independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all peoples in the world, particularly the people of the non-aligned and third world countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The concrete historical experiences of our revolutionary movement have taught us clearly that we must exert all our efforts and be determined to carry out the revolution in our country well, if we want to contribute positively to the movement of the revolutionary struggle in the world. Revolution cannot be exported or imported from one country to another. That is why our people will redouble our efforts, surmount all difficulties and obstacles, promote the revolution in our country in the spirit of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance in order not to be source of worry to our friends far and near

and in order to make a new and modest contribution to the revolutionary movement and the movement of the struggle of the people of the world.

Comrades and friends,

Since the complete liberation of our nation and our people on April 17, 1975, we have had to continue to fulfil our tasks in the course of the new stage of our revolution, that is, the tasks of defending the fruits of revolution, defending the worker-peasant power of our Party, defending Democratic Kampuchea and the tasks of continuing the socialist revolution and socialist construction of Kampuchea, and to do all this in conformity with the present concrete conditions in our country and our society, and by firmly adhering to the fundamental principles of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance and of taking our destiny into our own hand.

At present, the general situation of the revolution in Kampuchea is excellent, considering the fact that ours is a backward agricultural country which was just freed from the devastating war launched by the U.S. imperialists.

To defend our country, we have had to surmount numerous difficulties. We have defended with complete success the fruits of victory of the revolution, defended the worker-peasant power of our Party, safeguarded the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea within its present frontiers, and this, in total independence and sovereignty. Security in the whole of our country is perfectly assured. Foreign guests can travel there in total security day or night, and over hundreds and thousands of kilometres.

Under the feudal, capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial system of the last century or so, Kampuchea had lost much of its territories. The present reduced frontiers are the distressing results of that century. But since April 17, 1975 when our country won total and definitive liberation, the people of Kampuchea have become true masters of their country and of their own destiny. This has been made

possible after the heroic, bitter, complex and tortuous struggles waged by several generations, especially after the national and people's liberation struggle waged in the past five years against the devastating war of aggression launched by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Therefore, we, the entire Kampuchean people, must defend our existing frontiers and see to it that they will never be lost. On the other hand, we, the Kampuchean people, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, will under no circumstances carry out aggression, provocation, interference, subversion and espionage activities against any other country, far or near. Nevertheless, we will not tolerate any aggression, provocation, interference, subversion and espionage activities by anyone against our Democratic Kampuchea and its people.

At present, we in Kampuchea have an area of 181,000 square kilometres, of which six million hectares are arable land. Our vast Tonle Sap Lake, our sea, our other lakes and rivers abound in aquatic resources. Our dense forests, soil and sub-soil have rich natural resources. Inhabiting this land are only 8 million Kampuchean people. In terms of the cultivated land or that used for orchards or vegetable-growing, each peasant household can dispose of five hectares of land. In view of our land and resources, we need about 20 million people to utilize them properly. On the other hand, at this moment when a devastating war was brought to an end not long ago, we are in dire need of time and have to mobilize the energies of our whole nation and people so as to build up our country and raise our people's living standards as quickly as possible. In view of the foregoing, there is absolutely no need for us to encroach upon, annex or occupy one inch of land of any country, far or near. On the contrary, it is imperative for us to have a relationship of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity with countries far or near. Therefore, we have always sought to establish friendly relations with all countries far or near in the world. A proof of this is that shortly after our country won its liberation in 1975, our Kampuchean delegations paid friendly visits to a number of countries.

We have also achieved positive initial results in the economic, social affairs, health, culture, education, scientific and technological and other fields of construction. We successfully fulfilled 80 per cent of the plan for grain production in 1976, which was three tons per hectare. This has given us enough food to solve the problem of feeding our people on an average of 312 kilogrammes of rice per capita and enabled us to begin exporting tens of thousands of tons of rice in 1977.

As for projects of farmland improvement and water conservancy in our country, the great mass movement to solve the problem of water conservancy surged forward on a grand and spectacular scale in the first half of 1977. There were built many large reservoirs, each with a storage capacity of one to two hundred million cubic metres of water in every zone, medium-sized reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic metres of water in every region, and small reservoirs of 5 to 10 million cubic metres of water in every district as well as dams of all sizes on dozens of rivers. Besides, we have also dug canals and irrigation ditches with a total length of several hundred kilometres. These projects can irrigate rice fields of about four hundred thousand hectares in all seasons, rainy or dry.

Industry and handicrafts have also witnessed rapid progress as we have consolidated and developed them in Phnom Penh as well as in the zones, regions, districts and co-operatives. A network of industry, large, medium-sized and small, and handicrafts is beginning to emerge in the whole country, which we will continue to consolidate and develop. We have been able to solve satisfactorily the problems of the livelihood of the people, which is continuing to improve as the supply of the grain is fully assured for everyone and the health conditions, of the people become better and better. In 1977, the first year of the four-year plan for the eradication of malaria, we have already realized 70 to 80 per cent of our objectives. Other diseases, particularly diseases left over from the old society, have also been basically eliminated. There are only certain endemic diseases that remain to be combated. There is a network of hospitals and pharmaceutical centres, in Phnom Penh and in the zones, regions,

districts and co-operatives of the whole country. Each co-operative has its clinic and pharmaceutical establishment. On an average, for every hundred families in the co-operatives there is a clinic of 20 beds with three medical personnel with preliminary training and a shop for making herb medicine with three pharmacists. The herb medicine we make can satisfy 80 per cent of the needs of the country. We are striving to develop and improve more rapidly our system of hospitals and pharmaceutical establishments. We are endeavoring to improve the conditions of life and health of our people because we hope to increase our population to 15 to 20 million in the course of the next ten years and more.

We have likewise scored good results in the fields of culture and education. When the country was liberated in 1975, 75 per cent of the peasants in the countryside and 60 per cent of the working people in the cities were illiterate. Now, we have wiped out illiteracy by 80 to 90 per cent, and are continuing the programme to quickly raise the cultural level of the people so as to enable them to read, write and calculate. Now our people, particularly tens of thousands of our young men and women, work in the many branches of science and technology. They study and at the same time serve the production movement directly. Before 1975, the number of our nationals who actually worked in the field of science and technology did not exceed 500. In addition, education in the field of politics—of revolutionary patriotism and revolutionary internationalism—has also made progress. Our people firmly stand on the side of the poor people of the world and on the side of the revolutionary movement in the world. We have clearly distinguished between friends and enemies of our country and people as well as between friends and enemies of the revolution for national and people's liberation in the world. Social blemishes and the depraved culture, debauchery, brigandage, crimes and other decadent phenomena in the age of imperialism, colonialism and other exploiting classes have been basically abolished by the movement in our country.

At the same time, we have further achieved good results too in the international arena. We have more and more friends, far and

near, on the five continents, who have come to increasingly understand our revolution and to support us. We will for ever stand firmly by the people of the world. We will resolutely remain in the community of the non-aligned movement.

The above-mentioned victories clearly prove that, under the correct leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, there are good unity and solidarity within the ranks of our entire people and our entire revolutionary army. The revolution is being waged by the masses. Only with a great united revolutionary mass movement can the revolution win victory; without a revolutionary mass movement, the revolution will fail. It would have been impossible for us to score such excellent successes had the entire Kampuchean people and the entire Kampuchean Revolutionary Army not made revolution vigorously, independently and self-reliantly under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea. And it would have been impossible for us to defend and build up our country, solve the problem of livelihood of the people or win the approval of foreign friends, far and near. Our victories were also won with all kinds of support and assistance from the people all over the world and from friends on the five continents. We would like to take this opportunity to express solemnly once again our sincerest and deepest gratitude.

Comrades and friends,

Under the leadership of our two Parties, the peoples of Chína and Kampuchea have consolidated and developed our sincerest co-operation of mutual assistance and our great militant unity and our solid fraternal revolutionary friendship based on the principles of genuine mutual respect for sovereignty and equality. On the other hand, our co-operation, mutual assistance, great militant unity and fraternal revolutionary friendship have stood historic tests in the protracted revolutionary struggle against our common enemy; especially, our two Parties, two governments and two peoples have maintained a fundamentally identical, correct Marxist-Leninist stand. There exists a most profound fraternal revolutionary friendship

between the Parties, governments and peoples of our two countries. Ordinary peasants in our country always say, "We love those who are friendly to us and we loathe those who are unfriendly. Revolutionary friendship is not determined by material things. Pure and noble revolutionary sentiments towards each other, alone, constitute a firm and everlasting revolutionary friendship." We Kampuchean people cherish a deep love for the fraternal Chinese people. The joys and sorrows of the Chinese people are our joys and sorrows; the victories of the Chinese people are our victories. We are determined to work hard to protect, consolidate and develop this great militant unity and this fraternal revolutionary friendship, so that they may last for ever.

In the period of our revolutionary war for national liberation and after nationwide liberation, we Kampuchean people were given wholehearted, unconditional and all-round support and assistance by Chairman Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and people who are our comrades-in-arms. Now, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Guofeng, the Chinese Government and people, maintaining a pure spirit of proletarian internationalism, continue to give us unconditional support and assistance of various kinds, which enable us to stand on our own feet even better. For this, we once again express our deepest gratitude.

Comrades and friends,

The present visit of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea provides an excellent opportunity for an exchange of views between our two Parties on issues of common interest to our Parties and peoples. It coincides with the moment when our Communist Party of Kampuchea commemorates its 17th anniversary and solemnly made public its existence, after having led the glorious Kampuchean revolution to its great and historic victory. It also coincides with the fraternal Chinese people's celebration of the great success of the 11th

National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the ceremonious commemoration of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the glorious People's Republic of China—the first National Day after Comrade Hua Kuo-feng became Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. With equal revolutionary pride, the peoples of China and Kampuchea jointly celebrate these happy occasions.

We are convinced that the current visit of the Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation will consolidate and develop the great militant unity and revolutionary fraternal friendship between the Parties and the peoples of Kampuchea and China, making them develop continuously and flourish for ever on the sacred basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

With these heart-stirring sentiments, we request our comrades and friends to raise their glasses and drink to the great militant unity and revolutionary fraternal friendship between the Parties and peoples of Kampuchea and China; to new and greater victories won by the great Communist Party of China and the Chinese people under the guidance of the brilliant line of Mao Zedong Thought; to the prosperity of the People's Republic of China; to the health and long life of Chairman Hua Guofeng; to the health of Vice-Chairman Yeh Jianying, to the health of Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping; to the health of Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian; and to the health of Vice-Chairman Wang Dongxing; to the health of the other leading Chinese comrades; to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present; and to the health of all comrades present here!

CONVERSATION WITH HUA GUOFENG (29 Sept. 1977)

From History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, CWIHP Working Paper 22, translation in Wilson Center.

Pol Pot: The Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Cuba are cooperating in order to fight us in the border areas. We think that they have prepared intelligence personnel inside our forces. At the central level, they have 5 agents; at the division level, they have between 4 and 10; and in addition, they have some in the provinces. Since September 1975, they have been preparing to attack Phnom Penh, Preyveng, and the border areas. They are also preparing to assassinate our leadership with high-accuracy guns and poison. They have several times poisoned food that we by chance did not eat. Thailand, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam are cooperating to do so. We also have documents to show that the US and Vietnam also cooperate on this issue. In 1976, we started to solve the problem of the Vietnamese agents and by June 1977, the job was basically completed. We have placed carefully selected cadres to be in charge of Phnom Penh and the border areas, especially on the Eastern border[13] where there are many CIA agents.

We understand that the nature of the Vietnamese armed forces has changed. They can no longer bear hardship. They now rely on heavy weaponry, tanks, and aircraft. At the same time, the nature of their infantry forces has also changed. Their troops do not want to fight. Many of their troops from the North have taken additional wives in the South and they cannot fight. We are not concerned about fighting, but about the constant threat from Vietnam. Not only does Vietnam want to annex Cambodia and Laos. It also wants to occupy the whole of Southeast Asia. We have conducted negotiations with them many times, but to no avail.

To solve the problem by military means will lead to a decrease in our forces. The strategic orientation, therefore, should be to develop revolution in Southeast Asia. Otherwise, it will take centuries

[13] Editor's Note: Border with Vietnam.

to solve the problem between Vietnam and Cambodia. Laos, to our knowledge, will play an important role in the strategy of Vietnam. The Vietnamese-Lao Treaty of 13 July 1977 is a treaty under which Vietnam annexes Lao territory. Laos' population is three million. Yet, the number of Vietnamese in Laos alone—not to mention the Vietnamese Laotians—is three million. The Vietnamese population is increasing by between one and two million every year. After five years, the Laotians will be a minority. Vietnam, however, is not able to control Laos because it has insufficient human, financial, and food resources. If the revolution in Southeast Asia advances strongly, exploiting the opportunities, then the situation will be better and we shall solve our problem.

We have conversed with our Burmese, Malaysian, Indonesian, and Thai friends and reached agreement with them. This is a big political victory even though it will be more complicated when we go into details. We rely on our Chinese friends in the North. Southeast Asia is united. This situation encourages us strategically.

As far as our foreign policy is concerned, we try to unite the Southeast Asian forces. Our Central Committee considers this an important task. We spend time working with parties in Southeast Asia.

That Cambodia can defend itself is contributing to the defense of Southeast Asia. As before, we feel safe having the Chinese as friends. The recent 11th CCP Congress encourages us and promises us and the Southeast Asian revolution a bright future.

Hua Guofeng: Your strategy regarding the neighboring countries is correct.

POL POT TELLS THE HISTORY OF THE KAMPUCHEAN REVOLUTION (3 October 1977)

From *The Call* 6, no. 41 (October 24, 1977).[14]

What is life like in Kampuchea (Cambodia) today? What have been the activities of the Communist Party of Kampuchea during the last 17 years through which its existence has been secret? How did the Kampuchean people succeed in defeating U.S. imperialism?

The answers to these and other questions were given in a historic press conference held by Pol Pot during his recent visit to China. Pol Pot is the Secretary at the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) and the Prime Minister of its government.

The interview is the most comprehensive account of the history of the Kampuchean revolution published to date and, as such, deserves careful study. Below, we reprint excerpts from the text published by the Hsinhua News Agency Oct. 3.

Recalling the birth and growth of the CPK in the ordeals of the struggle, Comrade Pol Pot emphasized that the people's revolutionary movement can emerge victorious only when it is led by a revolutionary political party and guided by a correct line.

He said that class, class contradictions and class struggle have existed in Kampuchean society for many centuries. The Kampuchean people's struggle dates back a long, long time.

They had fought unremittingly against the French colonialists following their invasion of the country. History gives witness to the lofty heroism of the embattled Kampuchean people who have advanced wave upon wave, defying all possible sacrifices. Yet their brave struggles had always ended in defeat.

"So we strove to find out why the revolution had failed invariably, by summing up our experience again and again," Pol Pot said. "Finally, we came to see that the fundamental reason for the failures lay in the absence of a political party to lead the revolution

[14] This reprints excerpts from an interview with *Hsinhua News Agency* conducted October 3. We have included all the editorial intros as well.

and a correct political line to guide it. The lesson learned is of crucial importance for our revolution.

"The situation in our country in 1957 was marked by the steady upsurge of popular struggle, while there was at the same time international confusion as regards revolution and the line which the revolution should follow. The talk about the parliamentary road was also heard."

He continued: "In the light of the concrete conditions in Kampuchean society, we summed up our own experience and lessons and also learned from the experiences of the world revolution. The domestic experience is that the enemy suppresses the revolution every day and the revolution suffers losses every day. For us, the parliamentary road will get nowhere."

Chinese Experience

"We also learned from the experiences of the world revolution, and in particular Comrade Mao Tsetung's works, and the experience of the Chinese revolution played an important role at that time."

Pol Pot said that the Founding Congress of the Party was held Sept. 30, 1960, in Phnom Penh City, attended by 21 deputies.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea set forth the tasks for the country's national democratic revolution. Pol Pot noted:

"By carrying out the national revolution, we mean to combat imperialism, win liberation and independence of the country and liberate the people, the peasants in particular.

"After putting forward the task of opposing imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, we set forth the task of opposing feudalism and the reactionary comprador bourgeoisie, thus confirming the basic forces and targets of the revolution. The principle of struggle we laid down is to arouse the masses boldly, bring into play their positive factors and rally the forces of the people of all nationalities to accomplish the tasks of the revolution.

"Therefore, we launched struggles both in the countryside and cities and took the countryside as base areas. We waged both overt

and covert struggles with covert struggle as the basis. We waged both legal and illegal struggles with illegal struggle as the basis. We attached special importance to violent struggle, unfolding both violent political struggle and armed struggle with armed struggle as the main form.

"It took us just five years and one month to win victory in the people's national liberation war, and this was a very short space of time."

Tremendous Change

"We had long before this acquired the basic conditions for waging the struggle, but our force was still relatively isolated and inadequate. The situation underwent a tremendous change after the Lon Nol clique staged the reactionary coup on March 18, 1970. The whole nation quickly swung over to the side of the revolution and rallied around the national united front or Kampuchea, and this force was extremely powerful.

"A broad national united front was thus formed on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, a united front led and nurtured by our Party. After the reactionary coup, changes also took place in the world attitude toward us, and people throughout the world stood squarely behind us. This situation enabled our nationwide struggle to develop apace.

"First of all, we mobilized the masses of the people to rise in uprisings to seize political power in villages and townships. At the same time, we quickly expanded our armed forces, upgrading our military organization from the platoon and company to the battalion level and arming ourselves with weapons captured from the enemy.

"With the upsurge in the people's uprisings, our armed forces grew rapidly and liberated 75% of the country's territory by the end of 1970."

Comrade Pol Pot spoke of the development and building of the revolutionary army in the course of the struggle and its monumental contributions to the liberation war. He said:

"Our party called on the army units to solve the problem of equipment self-reliantly and stressed that they must capture weapons from the enemy to arm themselves. During the five years of war, 80% of the weapons in the hands of the revolutionary army were captured from the enemy.

"Many divisional units had been formed in the large administrative regions by 1974, but guerrilla operation remained the principal form of warfare. This made it possible for the regular forces to concentrate their strength – to wipe out the enemy and capture major communications lines and strategic positions." Ultimately, he said, victory was won on April 17, 1975. With the liberation of Phnom Penh. He added:

"After the nationwide victory in the revolutionary war, though there were many complex problems, the initiative was in our hands. We have successfully safeguarded the fruits of revolution, the people's revolutionary state power and democratic Kampuchea. Factors for our success are legion. One of the important factors is the evacuation of city residents to the countryside.

"This was decided before victory was won, that is, in February 1975, because we knew that before the smashing of all sorts of enemy spy organizations, our strength was not strong enough to defend the revolutionary regime. Judging from the struggles waged from 1976 to 1977, the enemy's secret agent network lying low in our country was very massive and complicated.

"But when we, crushed them, it was difficult for them to stage a comeback. Their forces were scattered in various cooperatives which were in our own grip.

"The second success is the solution of our people's livelihood. Our 1976 harvest can, in the main, meet the people's needs for livelihood. After the war, we had first of all to solve the problem of grain and the problem of people's livelihood. A guarantee is thus provided for defending the people's revolutionary political power and democratic Kampuchea. In solving the problem of grain, we have solved a basic problem."

Recalling the tremendous success scored in the two years after nationwide liberation. Comrade Pol Pot said: “We are convinced that under the leadership of the Party and with the masses fully mobilized, the situation will grow even better. Although there will still be difficulties on our road ahead our future is bright.”

SUMMARY OF PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY POL POT IN BEIJING (6 October 1977)

From a letter of Claud Arnaud, French Ambassador to China, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Recorded by the ECCC as document E3/1762.
https://archive.eccc.gov.kh/documents/2310379?title=E3/1762&matterId=49

At the end of his recent official visit to Peking, Pol Pot, the CPK Secretary and Prime Minister of Kampuchea, gave a press conference in the presence of officials from the New China News Agency, the People's Daily and radio journalists, and senior officials of *Wai Chiao Pu*. No foreign journalists were invited to the press conference.

Pol Pot spoke mainly about the CPK and the key role which, according to him, it played in the war of liberation, and its current task in rebuilding Cambodia.

The CPK secretary pointed out that the CPK was founded on 30 September 1960, at its first congress. That congress was attended by 21 delegates, including 14 representing the rural areas and 7 representing the towns. A three-point program was adopted: "Fighting imperialism, liberating the country and the people and conducting a successful national revolution." To achieve these objectives, the CPK chose secrecy and violence from the very outset in 1960: "We knew that parliament would not get us anywhere." Drawing inspiration from Mao's strategy, the CPK decided to surround the towns with countryside. It did not command a great deal of influence until after the 18 March 1970 putsch. "Prior to that," Pol Pot acknowledged, "our forces were isolated and had no resources. Thereafter, things changed in our favour when the entire nation rallied behind the United National Front of Kampuchea; a broad-based peasants' and workers' front led by the CPK was then established." By December 1975, three quarters of the country had been liberated and it "took only five years and one month to achieve total victory," Pol Pot said further.

The instrument for the liberation of Cambodia, the CPK is now regarded as a major player in national reconstruction. In 1973, the CPK Central Committee decided to change the agricultural structures: self-reliant cooperatives were established in the liberated zones and the movement was systematically expanded after April 1975. However, the strength of the new regime can also be ascribed to the forced evacuation of tens of thousands of town dwellers: "We had resolved to evacuate the towns as early as February 1975, because it would otherwise have been impossible to smash the spies, saboteurs and trouble makers; we dispersed them in the cooperatives under our control."[15]

Lastly, I note that at the press conference Pol Pot only sang the praises of the CPK and did not mention the role played by other political forces against the Lon Nol regime. Moreover, at no time during his visit did he mention the GRUNK[16] or Prince Sihanouk.

[15] Editors: This goes to prove that Pol Pot's motivation in moving the populace was not due to some made up starvation or famine problem that was immanent in the cities, or the threat of foreign invasion. Instead, it was entirely to oppress the masses in the cities since Pol Pot was inherently paranoid of them.

[16] Editors: acronym for the Gouvernement royal d'union nationale du Kampuchéa or the Cambodian government in exile led by Sihanouk.

POL POT ON FOREIGN AGGRESSION (10 October 1977)

From "Telegram 066764 from the Romanian Embassy in Pyongyang to the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pol Pot's Visit to the DPRK," documented in the Wilson Center (doc. 114866).

Pol Pot stated: "we will never attack or instigate aggression against any neighboring or distant country. We will never intervene in the internal affairs of other countries or conduct espionage operations in any neighboring or distant country. But we will not allow anyone to intervene in our domestic affairs and to conduct subversive or espionage operations against our country."

LETTER FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA TO THE CANADIAN COMMUNIST LEAGUE (M-L) (28 October 1977)

From *The Forge* 2, no. 22 (1977)

Dear Comrades,

We are especially pleased to have received the congratulatory message of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the founding of our Communist Party of Kampuchea and of the solemn proclamation of its official existence both at home and abroad. Your message showed great respect for our Communist Party of Kampuchea and our Kampuchean people, who faithfully adhere to the line of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. Moreover it attests to the revolutionary friendship of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), and of the Canadian working class and people, towards the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people. This greatly encourages us. In the name of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people, we express our deepest thanks. On this occasion we would like to wish you well and great success in fulfilling your revolutionary tasks. We wish the Canadian working class and people greater victories in their revolutionary struggle.

Please accept, Comrades, our warm revolutionary greetings,

Phnom Penh, October 28, 1977 for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea

Pol Pot Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH ON THE CPK (27 September 1977)

From I Wor Kuen, "Communist Party of Kampuchea—17 Militant Years," *Getting Together* 8, no. 11 (November 1977).

Thousands of workers, peasants and soldiers gathered in Phnom Penh, capital of Kampuchea (Cambodia) to celebrate the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) on September 27th. In his address, leader of the Communist Party Pol Pot made the existence of the CPK public to the country and the world.

The people of Kampuchea, Comrade Pol Pot stated, have a long history of struggle against exploitation and foreign domination. But it was only after the founding of the Communist Party, applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Kampuchean revolution, that the people were able to win complete liberation.

The first congress held in September 1960 was an historic turning point, in which the CPK charted a correct path for the Kampuchean revolution, concentrating the forces of the entire nation against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, to fight for independence, sovereignty, and to overthrow the feudal landlords and exploiters.

During the period of national democratic revolution, the CPK went deep among the masses in the countryside. They built base areas and bringing all positive factors of the masses into play, used the countryside to encircle the cities, seizing power by armed force. Under the leadership of the party, the Kampuchean people fought valiantly and skillfully and defeated U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackey, the Lon Nol clique.

The national liberation war lasted five years and proved that the people of a small nation can defeat big power aggression. "In the concrete revolutionary struggle of our country," Pol Pot stated, "we creatively and successfully applied Mao Zedong Thought—from the

time we had only empty hands down to April 17, 1975 when we thoroughly defeated U.S. imperialism. Our people and the revolutionary people of the world deeply believe that Mao Tsetung's Thought is always efficacious, sharp, and victorious."

Socialist reconstruction

The CPK continues to lead the Kampuchean revolution in the present period of socialist reconstruction. After the devastating war launched by U.S. imperialism, Kampuchea was faced with great hardships. Cattle were dead, large tracts of arable land were ruined, and western observers and revisionists claimed that Kampuchea could not feed its seven million people.

Yet in just two years, Kampuchea no longer needs to import rice from abroad and has already achieved self-sufficiency in food grains. Taking agriculture as the foundation, large numbers of people in the cities went to the countryside after liberation to solve the problem of a labor shortage. Livestock breeding was developed, and now Kampuchea has over a million head of cattle.

Nation-wide movements for agricultural cooperation have been launched. Illiteracy has been wiped out by 80 to 90 percent.

The basic reason why the Kampuchean people are winning victory after victory is that they are led by a staunch Marxist-Leninist party with a correct line.

Militant solidarity between Kampuchea and China

Kampuchea is winning friends far and near on the five continents. In his commemoration speech, Pol Pot said, "We stand resolutely and always on the side of the oppressed peoples of the world and especially on the side of the peoples of the non-aligned and Third World countries for the people's revolutionary cause of national liberation and for defense of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to decide their own destiny."

The militant unity between Kampuchea and China, in particular, was manifest on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the birth of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and on the eve of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, when the Kampuchean party and government delegation visited China. China and Kampuchea are both developing socialist countries belonging to the Third World and stand together with other Third World countries in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. The Kampuchean people recently hailed the victory of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, in smashing the "gang of four."

Speaking for the Kampuchean delegation in China, Pol Pot said: "As for our Kampuchean revolution, the most precious aid provided by Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people has been Mao Zedong Thought […] Our two parties, two governments and two peoples have maintained a fundamentally identical, correct Marxist-Leninist stand […] We are determined to work hard to protect, consolidate and develop this great militant unity and this fraternal revolutionary friendship, so that they may last forever."

EXCERPTS FROM PROGRESS REPORT (January 1978)

From *The Call* 7, no. 4 (30 January 1978).

Pol Pot, general secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, recently gave a progress report on the building of socialism and the rebuilding of the country since the U.S. war of aggression.

Stressing the successes of collective fanning in the countryside, Pol Pot said, "They are transforming our barren, arid and miserable countryside of the old days into land each day more luxuriant, dotted with reservoirs of all sizes, canal networks, paddies and green fields.

"Each collective farm has become a small socialist society, an entirely new society, freed from the depraved and corrupt customs and culture of the past, a healthy new society which is developing steadily and where equality and harmony prevail."

Nowadays, said Pol Pot, the peasants and workers have "become the true masters of the lands, paddies and the fruits of their labors. In a word, they have fully regained their dignity."

SPEECH COMMEMORATING THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA (17 January 1978)

From *Par Le Comite des Patriotes du Kampuchea Democratique en France* which published this in 1977

I would like to extend my respect to all the comrades representatives of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, all the comrades representatives of workers, all the comrades representatives of departments, organs and all revolutionary units who have come and participated in this meeting.

At first, on behalf of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and on behalf of the whole collectivist worker-peasant people throughout the country, I would like to extend my deepest, warmest and most cordial respect and admiration towards the whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, including those who are present here, in different units and particularly those at the front throughout the country, who are heroically fighting to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant State power of the Party and our collectivist people.

We all deeply and whole-heartedly respect and admire our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea for they are the strong dorsal column, the faithful and loyal armed forces, instrument of the proletarian dictatorship of the Party, they have successively fought in the revolutionary war movements from 1968 up to now and they have then won successive victories. They have highly enhanced and held aloft the prestige, honour and dignity of Kampuchea, which had been despised before, those of the whole people, revolution and Communist Party of Kampuchea, both on the national and international arenas.

Therefore, while gathering together to commemorate and greet the 10th Anniversary of our Revolutionary Army, we have very great pleasure and unbounded pride towards the Revolutionary Army Of Kampuchea, for this Army has fought, surmounted all kinds of difficulties and sufferings, has consented all kinds of sacrifices during dozens years for the national and people's liberation, for the worker-peasant revolutionary State power of the Party, for the prosperity of Kampuchea and its entire people, and for the defence of the Kampuchea's territory to insure its everlastingness.

It is only after being aware of the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea that we would have full confidence in them and would wholeheartedly appreciate and be proud of them. As for the history of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, we have had the opportunities to talk and discuss about it many times. In this Occasion, I would like to bring up only some problems to inform our meeting.

At first, I would like to talk about the founding of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

On this first point, I would like to raise the questions: How the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded? From which source? In which circumstances this Army was born, has been further developed and strengthened in size and strength?

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was not born through four or ten circulars of so-and-so government, of so-and-so Parliament. It was not so and-so organization which-had signed to enlist the youth into the army and give them military uniforms and arms to join the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, one, two, Our Army was born in the people's revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. It was the Communist Party of Kampuchea which had defined the strategical and tactical lines to fight against imperialism that had come and interfered, aggressed and occupied Kampuchea, to fight against feudalists and reactionary capitalists who had exploited and

oppressed the Kampuchea's people. To fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes, our Party has decided that we have to carry out an armed struggle and in order to wage an armed struggle, we must have an army. This army has a revolutionary task to fight against the imperialists and the exploiting classes. Under the constant leadership of the Party, this army was born from scratch to one fighter, two fighters, three fighters, four fighters, five fighters fighting against the enemy. They have fought against the enemy through revolutionary violence, particularly through armed violence.

They have fought against the enemy with traditional weapons and semi-modern weapons up. to modern weapons. They have fought against the enemy with one fighter, one squad, one platoon, one company up to battalion, regiment, division and with many divisions. That is how the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been successively developed under the leadership of the Party which has decided a correct line that is to have to wage an armed struggle against the enemy, and to have a revolutionary army for this armed struggle.

This brief history of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has shown that our army was not created by one or two circulars and letters. This army was born in the flames of struggle, starting from scratch up to the present development. This development is not insignificant. This army has been developed by inflicting ignominious defeats on the US imperialists, the most powerful chieftain of imperialists in the world, and up to-now by inflicting also ignominious defeats on the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories. They have been so because this army was founded in the struggle under the Leadership of the Party.

As for another question: From which source, this army was founded and has been developed? I would like to tell as follows:

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was born from the workers and peasants, from the people of poor and lower classes. From its founding up to now, its social composition is made up of

overwhelming majority of peasants of poor strata. After the latter, there are also peasants of inferior middle strata, 98 per cent of cadres and fighters are from the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, Besides, there are also from the peasants of the middle strata and other revolutionaries. Through this social class composition of our Revolutionary Army, we can see the source from which our Revolutionary Army was born. It is these poor people who arc the source of the founding of our Revolutionary Army. It is these poor people who are the forces to strengthen and develop the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and the peasants of middle strata are very numerous, more than 80 percent the entire people of the country, These people are an inexhaustible and immense source in supplying forces to our Revolutionary Army, to make them more developed and more powerful. We are not worry that the source of our army would become exhausted for us people of the lower classes are very numerous. This, if we speak about number. Besides, parallel with this number, our Revolutionary Army has also their genuine nature that is the ae as me class nature of these people. The peasants of poor and inferior middle strata can be considered as belonging to the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes in the countryside. With the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, who are so numerous and belong to such a genuine class nature as lower class, our army can develop and strengthen themselves in number and at the same time they can firmly preserve their class nature as proletarian and semi-proletarian classes. And these peasants of poor and inferior middle strata, belonging to such a good class are not isolated and scattered but they are under the leadership of the Party and have good qualities in the fields of politics, ideology and collectivist organization. It is these people who supply forces to the army.

It is these poor people who are the mothers of our army. If these mothers are good, their sons and daughters are also good. These mothers belong to a good origin of class and have been successively and firmly armed with politics, ideology and collectivist organization

by the Party. With such good mothers their sons and daughters would also be as good. Through this awareness, we can see the quality of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and have full confidence in our army. In the future, we still have to base on the source of the peasants of poor and inferior middle strata to strengthen and develop our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. If we base on other sources, then our army would not be strong anymore. Let's say that if in the future, we turn to other sources to select our fighters from, our army would not be strong anymore, despite how numerous modern weapons we could have. If the original source is not good, then this army would not be strong. A strong and healthy mother has a healthy baby. The good health we are talking here is a strong class nature, a firm revolutionary stand, surmounting difficulties, and struggling valiantly. A mother with a strong revolutionary nature would also have sons with a strong revolutionary nature. These are the sons who have powerfully fought against the enemy and won any enemy whatever strong they were. These are the line and the stand followed forever in organizing our Revolutionary Army.

In the future, we still have to follow this way in building up, strengthening and developing our army mainly from the original order source of the Peasants of poor and inferior middle strata in its to have an army with a strong genuine class nature both by nature own genuine original nature and its genuine proletarian class educated by the Party. Our army have no ranks, no salary. They are an army which are carrying our genuine revolution, fulfilling their high revolutionary tasks in defending the country, the worker-peasant state power of the party and the collectivist people. Therefore, they must have a very high revolutionary spirit to heroically carry out the fighting. The factor of revolutionary people is the main fundamental factor. As for the factors of materials and technology, they are just secondary important factors. Once we have strong revolutionary people, our fighting would be very powerful.

As for the third question: In which circumstances our was Revolutionary Army founded?

Our Revolutionary any Military Army was not founded in peaceful time, in the blazing school or military academy. Our army was founded in flames of struggle in the revolutionary struggle of successive difficulties, sufferings, endurances. This Revolutionary Army have struggled against and overcome all kinds of difficulties to build up, further develop and strengthen themselves. Therefore, this Revolutionary Army has passed the tests not at school but in revolutionary wars: the civil war from 1968–1969, the war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975, And from 1975 up to now, our army have fought both against the US imperialists and their lackeys and against the Vietnamese aggressors, swallowers of territories. Thus, this army have been successively developed, strengthened and tempered themselves in the flames of fighting. Being tempered in the fighting like this, this army have become powerful. The fighting has founded, further developed and strengthened our army to become successively more and more powerful. The fighting is a tempering and a test serving to appreciate our Revolutionary Army, our cadres and our men and women fighters through the concrete acts in the actual movement. And through the experiences in this fighting, our army can be further and powerfully developed and strengthened under the leadership of the Party.

In brief, our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was founded:

1. under the leadership of the Party through the line of concrete revolutionary violence, that is by waging a revolutionary war;

2. this army was founded from the poor people. That is why this army is so powerful. This people have their origin of class as peasants of poor and inferior middle strata and besides, they have the Party to lead them, in political, ideological and organizational fields, and they are organized in collectivity.

3. This army have fought, been tempered and tested successively in the blazing flames of the revolutionary war, Thus, this army has fulfil all characteristics and qualities required as an army of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

Therefore, in the future, our whole Party, our entire people will strive to build up our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in conformity with these principles in order to make our army to be ever powerful and not to ever change its nature.

Now I would like to tell you about the successive victories won by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea during our National Democratic Revolution as well as during our Socialist Revolution.

How our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which was founded and has been gradually developed has won its successive feats of arms and victories during the revolutionary war? We must remind and further illustrate those feats of arms and victories in order:

On the one hand, to develop more and more our pride, satisfactions, love respect, admiration and firm confidence in our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and to endeavor to develop and strengthen our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to make them steadfastly more and more powerful in all fields, political, ideological, organizational, and in the line of fighting of the party.

On the other hand, to totally break up the propaganda of the imperialists, reactionaries, aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories who, adhering to the stand of their class interest and their policy of aggression and annexation swallowing of territories, have always used their perfidious propaganda of prophesying and discrediting the revolutionary armies of the poor countries which are short of armament. They have propagated that the armies of those countries absolutely could not win over the aggression and annexation armies of the great powers, imperialists, reactionaries and big countries having many people, big armies and a lot and all kinds of armaments. In the history of our Revolutionary Army, they have also prophesied that our army would be completely destroyed for

many times. They have propagated as prophets this with intent to wage psychological war and political war to threaten, frighten and mislead beforehand the peoples and revolutionary armies of the small and/or poor countries, in order to let them to aggress, invade and swallow at their will the territory of others in conformity with their ambition.

For all these above-mentioned reasons, we must remind the successive feats of arms and victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea on the solemn occasion of this 10th Anniversary of its founding.

I would like to tell briefly about the grand feats of arms and victories won successively by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea during the revolutionary war from 1968 to 1978, by dividing this revolutionary war into 3 periods:

(1) from 1968 to March, 1970: period of struggle for national liberation;
(2) from March, 1970 to April, 1975: period of struggle for national liberation;
(3) from April, 1975 to January, 1978: period of struggle for; national defence.

From 1968 to March 1970, a civil war broke out in our country. Against our revolution, there were reactionaries exploiting classes with militarists Lon Nol, Sirik Matak as chieftains, and the US imperialists as strings-pullers. The enemy forces and our forces at that time were as follows: the Lon Nol's clique, lackey of the US imperialists, had an army of 60000 men in land, naval and air forces, including soldiers and provincial guards. As for us, in 1968, in all regions we had less than 1000 guerrilleros.

Thus, in comparison with the enemy, we were very weak, very small and the enemy had a very big force. The enemy was like a big elephant, and we were like a small ant.

In that situation, the imperialists' and exploiting classes' prophets inside the country and abroad, prophesied that the "Khmers Rouges" will be surely and completely annihilated. But what has been concretely the result of it? We have succeeded to defend and strengthen ourselves. From almost empty hand in 1968 to March 1970, we have had an army of 4000 men, and 50000 guerrilleros in the whole country, waging guerrilla war in 17 provinces out of 19 provinces throughout the country. We have had a liberated zone as our backing-bases with 60000 people. We had guerrilla bases where were living 300000 people. We had our guerrilla-zones where were living 700000 people. Thus, on the whole in 1970, we had a liberated gone, guerrilla-bases and guerrilla- zones with more than 1 million people. Our forces have been always increased. We have always succeeded to defend, develop and strengthen ourselves, i.e. the army, people, liberated zone, guerrilla-bases, guerrilla-zones, regular army and guerrilleros- units. These forces have been very strong in the civil war and have inflicted very heavy defeats on the enemy. Why could we defend, develop and strengthen the forces of our army and our revolution? Because we have had a correct line and carried out correctly the people's war of the Party. Therefore, the imperialists "and exploiting classes" prophecies against our revolution inside the country and the world over, have been completely broken down and dissolved. They have propagated and carried out political war and psychological war in order to dupe us, to mislead the world opinion, but the history of our revolutionary movement has clearly shown that from 1968 to March, 1970, we have won such great victories, Those victories have been indeed the first ones but we consider them as grand fundamental victories leaving our Party, our army and our people to build up their position are being independent and sovereign and to strongly develop and strengthen it in the fighting through tremendous difficulties and sufferings. The position of being independent, sovereign and self-reliant and master of one's destiny has come from this period and its foundation had been developed and strengthened during this period.

During the period of national liberation war against the US imperialists from 1970 to 1975, the imperialists' and reactionaries' prophets hove still foretold. They have propagated against our revolution with all kinds of means in order to dupe our people, our army, our Party and the world opinion, to be frightened at the great powers and to accept to bow their head to be oppressed by them at will. At that time, the enemy had forces as follows:

1. the Lon Nol clique had from 60,000 to 200,000 men;
2. more than 100000 of Thieu-Ky penetrated into our territory;
3. many ten thousands of US imperialists troops aggressed our territory in April and May 1970.

Besides, they used many planes flying all over Kampuchea's airspace. Therefore, the enemy forces included US imperialists, Saigonese troops of Thieu-Ky and the Lon Nol clique. Furthermore, the Thai reactionaries, the South Koreans, the Taiwanese etc... participated in carrying out activities against us. All these forced are very big. Therefore, the imperialist and reactionary side has foretold that the Kampuchean revolution will be completely destroyed and defeated. But as concrete result, we have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. Our Revolutionary Army which in 1970 had only 4000 men of regular army and 50000 guerrilleros, have been rapidly developed and organized into battalions, regiments and divisions. The army and the people have been developed, they could be self-sufficient in economy, they have won the grand victory of April 17, 1975. This has been a great victory in the Kampuchea's history and also grand victory in the world's history when, for the first time, the US imperialists have suffered such an ignominious defeat. The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has won over the US imperialists because this army has been led by our party, comes from the worker-peasant people, has been composed with sons and daughters of peasants of poor and middle strata, and steadfastly tempered in the flames of the revolutionary war. Therefore, this army has become

always more and more powerful, bigger and bigger, starting from scratch until having more and more armament, fighting the enemy aggressor and winning one victory after another. Our victories have broken down the perfidious theories, principles and stand, the perfidious and poisonous propaganda which have stated that "a small country could not fight", "a poor country could not fight and stand up", "a small country has to be dominated", "a poor people have to be dominated." We have broken down the poisonous propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries. so that the peoples in the world have been encouraged and become more powerful to continue their struggle and win victories.

Now, during the fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories, the prophets have foretold once again. They are the prophets of the US imperialists, reactionaries and various expansionists in the world, they have foretold that: "the Vietnamese army who had been tested in the war for many dozens years, would take Kampuchea within only 24 hours." They have made this propaganda in order to mislead the world opinion, to frighten the small countries and poor peoples through their poisonous theories that stated as follows: "a small country could not struggle", "a small country has to be dominated", "It is not possible to be independent, sovereign and self-reliant," etc. But despite these propagandas, they still can not mislead the world opinion. The world opinion at that time has been divided into two, but as a whole, it has supported and expressed its sympathy with Kampuchea.

The majority of it has been confident that the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea would surely defeat and wipe out the Vietnamese aggressors for this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea had already defeated the US imperialists. But a small number have expressed their anxiety for us too. They have thought we might not be able to stem the Vietnamese aggression.

I would like to tell about the fighting results and qualities of our Revolutionary Army. The Vietnamese army who have come and aggressed Kampuchea since May 1975 have been as follows:

(1) The security forces for border defence: These forces have machine gunned against our People who have been carrying out agricultural works, against our army in patrol. They have all the time pounded inside our territory. And they have been those who have repeatedly moved their installation into our territory. And they have been also those who have let their people to build houses with some columns on their soil and the other ones on our soil, and even up to many villages inside our territory. That Swallow our territories from 10 centimeters, 20 centimeters, 1 meter, 2 meters, one kilometer, 2 kilometers and so on. They have been those who have repeatedly carried out provocations along our borders. Only in the Southwest, in 1975–76, they have machine-gunned and pounded all the time, causing an average 30 killed or wounded in each month. And in Svay Rieng, as a whole, they have carried out continuous provocations and in some places the situation has been even more tense than in the South West. Therefore, from May 1975, from Kompot province to Ratanakiri province, the Vietnamese security forces for border defence have carried out innumerable provocations along the borders.

(2) The regional army is the army of the province. All the Vietnamese provinces along our borders have their own regional army. These forces have participated with the security forces for border defence to constantly create troubles and difficulties to our population along the border, behaving arrogant and naughty conducting themselves as "fathers of Indochina," as "big brothers of Indochina," saying that "the tinies in Indochina have to obey me."

(3) The military region forces are the regular army of each military region to be used as the core of military intervention in various provinces in the frameworks of the military region.

I would like to point out that these 3 Vietnamese categories of forces, security forces for border defence, regional forces and military regional forces, have used to launch attacks against us for many times from May 1975 and particularly in 1977. But these 3 Vietnamese

categories of forces have been aware of the efficiency of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea which have put them to rout anytime they have aggressed us.

For this reason, in order to launch large-scale aggression against the territory of Kampuchea in November and December 1977, and in January 1978, the Vietnamese have had to dispatch many divisions of their regular army from their headquarters in Hanoi, including sophisticated arms, many hundreds tanks and pieces of heavy artillery and used them-as the core forces to break through our thin line of border defence and penetrated many kilometres deep in our territory and dozens of kilometers in some places, particularly on National Road No7 and in Svay Rieng province in the East Region, in Takeo and Kampot provinces in the Southwest Region, They have sowed mournings, devastations and sufferings on our people, villages, cooperatives, cattle, poultry, cultivated lands, rice-field and properties.

If the Vietnamese have acted and behaved like that, what kind of revolution is this? What kind of "special friendship" is this? What kind of "negotiations" for solving the border problem is this?

We have seen only ideology of big country's chauvinism, arrogance and cruelty towards us, annexation and swallowing of our territories, violation and aggression against our country, subversions, attempted coup d'état to overthrow the regime of Democratic Kampuchea, etc. And we have seen only this ideology of big country's chauvinism being strengthened and becoming thicker and thicker like verdigris formed on copper, from the top to the bottoms of the Vietnamese.

However, I would like to tell about the concrete results of this large-scale Vietnamese big aggression and expansion against Kampuchea. Did they win or fail? They have suffered a very heavy defeat, and our victory has also been a great one, comparable also with the glorious victory of April 17, 1975. It was the grand victory of the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea over the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories on January 6, 1978.

The Vietnamese Defeat in the Military Field

Concretely, the Vietnamese aggressor army in all fronts have been driven out by our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea up to the borders. The enemy had suffered 29000 killed or wounded more than 130 big and modern enemy tanks, cost many million dollars each, have been destroyed or damaged, many dozens of enemy pieces of heavy artillery have been destroyed or damaged. Five enemy divisions of their regular army have been broken down.

I would like to point out why we have won so great victories over the enemy? As a whole, we have carried out well the people's Kampuchea war line of the Party and particularly our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have grasped and carried out with efficiency the line of fighting the enemies of the Party. The enemy have relied only on their tanks and artillery. When our Revolutionary Army attacked, destroyed, damaged or immobilized their tanks, then their infantry were in confusion. And it is not difficult to attack tanks. Anybody can do it. We use many mines to attack enemy tanks, putting them across national roads, provincial roads, small or big paths where the tanks are moving, because the enemy tanks cannot pass through our rice-fields. Swampy area, main and secondary canals of irrigation. Therefore, once we use lines to attack them along these roads, the enemy tanks would be destroyed and damaged by our mines, leaving them all over the places along those roads. At the same time, we use the B-40, DK-75 and DK-82 arms to attack the enemy tanks. By this kind of attacks, the enemy tanks were useless. As for the enemy pieces of heavy artillery, they have also to move along those roads by trucks or full-track vehicles. Thus, they could not escape from our mines. It was the same for the enemy's transportation: transport of ammunitions, killed and wounded soldiers, food supply and so on.

In this situation, what the enemy infantry men could do? How could they get tanks to help them? How could they get pieces of heavy artillery to help them? How could they get ammunitions supply? How could they get food to eat? And in this situation, our

Revolutionary Army have steadfastly and powerfully attacked them. In a short time, they have been broken out, destroyed, put to rout, and driven out to the borders.

I would like to tell that as for infantry, the side which has more revolutionary and proletarian stand would win. Another weak point of the Vietnamese aggressor army, annexationist and swallower of territories is that they have had no rice to eat and have eaten only bran in pieces. By eating only bran, they surely could not win in their aggression.

The Vietnamese Defeat in the Political Field

In the political field the Vietnamese aggressors have also suffered very heavy defeat. They have been considered in the world as baleful aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of Kampuchea's territories. The overwhelming majority of the independence- and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have seen clearly that. The face and the policy of the ideology of big country's chauvinism, of "Indochina federation" of the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories of the small countries, neighbours of Vietnam, have been denounced as clear as daylight. Through this, Vietnam have been very isolated, strongly condemned, officially or unofficially and it has been in an impasse.

Another Vietnamese political defeat is that the Vietnamese people are clearly aware of that the policy of aggression has led the people and the country to sufferings and devastations.

Another political aim of Vietnam to prepare setting an organisation, a party or a movement belonging to Vietnam and coming from Vietnam to be installed or declared on some Kampuchea's territories that the Vietnamese could occupy has completely failed.

The Vietnamese Defeat in the Economic And Financial Fields

In their large-scale and systematic aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have to spend a lot of economic and financial means at the time when their country and people are short of food, of many million tons of rice and of money for solving problems after the war.

They have spent a lot for aggressing the others. They have hoped they would win and get profit in returns. But when they have been defeated, they have lost everything, both capital and interest, their national and people's economy and finances have more suffered and been devastated.

Thus, when they hare going to beg again, alleging as a pretext that they have met with "difficulties after the war", "difficulties because of drought", it might be difficult to find someone to give alms, particularly those who have been aware of.

After being aware of the Vietnamese defeats in military, political, economic and financial fields, we could appreciate the grand victories of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in their task for defending our Democratic Kampuchea.

Our friends, near or far, and the independence- and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have strongly acclaimed our grand victories.

We have firmly safeguarded and aloft the banner of "being independent, sovereign, self-reliant and master of its own's destiny," the banner of "independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity," the banner of "honour and dignity of the Kampuchea's nation and people." And we have strongly broken down the Vietnamese banner of "aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories," the Vietnamese banner of "being frightened at big countries by defeatism," the Vietnamese banner of "big country's chauvinism," he Vietnamese banner of "one Party, one country, one people" has also been broken down with the most ignominious way.

Dear comrades,

We have seen our grand victory over the Vietnamese aggressors for:

• our whole Party is united as one in leading the fighting to wipe out the enemy;
• our whole people are united as one, having a high revolutionary political and ideological stand having a firm stand of collectivist organization, participating in the fighting against the enemy at each own battlefield, at the front and in the rear;
• our valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have correctly and efficiently carried out to the maximum the military line, the people's war line and the line of fighting of the Party;
• all our revolutionary departments and services have fulfilled well and actively their tasks;
• we have had rice, paddy all over our rice-fields;
• our friends, near or far and the independence and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over has supported and expressed their sympathy with our cause of national defence against the Vietnamese aggressors.

We have clearly seen that aggression has been defeated and independence has surely won. We have clearly seen these grand victories, but they are only for the first step. We have to see again that the enemies of all kinds are pursuing their activities to injure us to put our country under their domination by various means: aggression, spying, threatening, intimidation, subversion, undermining, attempting to overthrow our revolutionary power by coup d'état, assassination, machinegunning and pounding along the borders and so on.

Therefore, all of us, we must firmly grasp the main tasks of our Party:

• to defend Democratic Kampuchea;
• to carry on the socialist revolution;
• to edify well socialism.

Concretely, we have:

> (1) To increase higher our revolutionary vigilance, to be always well armed with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party, to keep the secret, to defend our Party, our revolution, our collectivist people, our revolutionary power and our Revolutionary Army. To improve develop and strengthen our forces of national defence, regular army, regional army and guerrilla forces, to be ever powerful and to destroy the enemy networks and activities of psychological war and spying.
>
> (2) To hold aloft the spirit of fighting and to impetuously fulfil the 1977's plan of 3 tons and 6 tons per hectare and the 1978's plan of 3,5 tons and 7 tons per hectare. And every factory, worksite, unit, department, service have to carry out efficiently their own works to achieve fully or beyond the plan. We have all to redouble our endeavors so that no force or anyone remains unmoved in order to participate in defending and edifying well the country and to rapidly improving the standard of living of the people. All the forces have to actively move forward to impetuously perform their tasks and to win new victories.
>
> (3) to do our utmost to be in solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over, in conformity with the foreign policy of the Party which has been clearly stated in the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. We preserve and firmly adhere to the policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely remains in the Great Family of the Non-aligned countries.

Within the Third World countries, particularly within the Great Family of the Non-aligned countries, there are indeed some complex

internal situations. But these countries, particularly the Non-aligned countries have many favorable conditions, that is:

- they are numerous in the world and they have many populations.

- they have deep, acute and several contradictions with imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, dominationism, expansionism, annexationism, etc., against all acts of aggression, expansionism, annexationism, swallowing of territories, subversion, intimidation.

- they are stubbornly and steadfastly struggling for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, justice and for the principle of being independent, sovereign, self-reliant end master of one's destiny of each country.

- and particularly for Kampuchea, the overwhelming majority of the Non aligned countries have successively supported and expressed their sympathy with it during the 5 years national liberation war against the US imperialists as well as since the liberation of the country on April 17, 1975. The overwhelming majority of the Non-aligned countries have respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and have established with us relations of perfect equality. Democratic Kampuchea needs very much such friendly countries.

As for the conflict with Vietnam, how would Democratic Kampuchea have to solve it? Concerning this problem, our government has clearly stated several times already. On this occasion, I would like to state it once again on behalf of the government of Democratic Kampuchea following the Article 21 of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea. This article reads as follows:

Democratic Kampuchea is endowed with goodwill and firmly determined to maintain close and friendly relations with all countries having common border with her, and with all countries, near or far, throughout the world on the strict basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Democratic Kampuchea firmly abides by the policy of independence, peace, neutrality, non-alignment. No foreign country whatever is allowed to establish military bases in her territory. She resolutely struggles against all foreign interferences in her internal affairs, against all kinds of acts of subversion and aggression from outside, military, political, cultural, economic, social, diplomatic or through the so-called humanitarian acts.

Democratic Kampuchea resolutely does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country whatever. Democratic Kampuchea resolutely respects the principle that each country is sovereign and has the full right to dispose and decide by itself its internal affairs without any foreign interference.

We firmly abide by our foreign policy stipulated in our Constitution.

If the Vietnamese side stops its interference, subversion, machine-gunning, pounding, aggression and annexation against Democratic Kampuchea by eliminating completely its ideology of big country's chauvinism towards Kampuchea, its principle of "Indochina Federation," its principle of "one party, one country, one people" in "Indochina," which are the roots of the Vietnamese policy of intimidation, threatening, subversion, aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories against Kampuchea, then there would be no contradiction between us and a genuine friendship would be established and would be further developed and strengthened.

This is the aim of the government and people of Kampuchea, which is so small and has no interest in creating troubles to anyone. She wishes only to have peace in her independence and territorial integrity.

Dear comrades,

Our glorious Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has been developed strengthened for ten years already, by fighting through and surmounting all kinds of obstacles, and by daring to consent all kinds of sacrifices for our party, our class, our revolution, our people and our country. The way through which all the comrades of our Revolutionary Army have gone in a very noble, brilliant and glorious one in the history of Kampuchea. The revolutionary heroism of the comrades of our Revolutionary Army is very sublime, worthy of profound respect and admiration. We are all very proud of this Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

But we all have also been aware of the heavy revolutionary tasks of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the worker-peasant state power of the party, to defend our party, our revolution, our class, our people, and to participate in the national edification and rapid improvement of the standard of living of the people.

The tasks of our comrades of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are indeed heavy, but they are very noble and glorious.

Let comrades further hold loftier the banner of victory of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea:

(1) by striving to educate yourselves and your units to make them always good, sound and firm in conformity with the political, ideological and organizational stand of the Party and also with the line of the people's war and the line of fighting of the Party.

(2) Every unit has to impetuously fulfil their revolutionary tasks as vanguard, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties to win new great victories.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH (17 JAN 1978)

From *Peking Review* 21, no. 4 (1978): 28–29.

Addressing the meeting, Comrade Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea said: "Our army was not born in peace. It came into being and was grown up in the fierce and arduous revolutionary struggle and through overcoming numerous difficulties."

Dealing with the signal victory scored by the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army on April 17, 1975, he noted: "Our victory has shattered the reactionary theses and propaganda such as 'a small nation can win no war,' 'poor nations can never stand up by themselves,' 'a small nation can only be a dependency to others' and 'the poor people cannot but be ordered about.'"

Secretary Pol Pot then spoke about the success achieved by the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army in defending the territorial integrity of the motherland. He pointed out: "We should further heighten revolutionary vigilance, strengthen political, ideological and organizational work, keep secrets, and defend our territory, our revolution, our people and our revolutionary regime. We should consolidate and strengthen national defence and smash enemy espionage."

TELEGRAM SUMMARIZING POL POT SPEECH (10 February 1978)

From document entitled "Visit to Cambodia by the Thai Foreign Minister" archived by the ECCC as document E3/2745. https://archive.eccc.gov.kh/documents/2306970?title=E3/2745&matterId=49

The subject of Khmer-Vietnamese relations was discussed in equal measure by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

Not surprisingly, the Cambodians were particularly impassioned about this issue, although here too Ieng Sary employed the obscure language of which he is particularly fond, almost invariably referring to Vietnam as "a country to the East." As for Pol Pot, he was more straight-forward, he called a spade a spade.

(1) While the Cambodians seemed particularly concerned about the conflict, in that they mentioned it several times quite spontaneously, thy struck their guests as being self-assured and serene. "We shall win," Mr. Ieng Sary repeated many times, "because morality and justice are on our side." Now, it was the same Ieng Sary who stated flatly that "if Cambodia were to forfeit its independence, this would have grave consequences for stability in both South-East Asia and Thailand."

The Thais, who claimed that they were only there to listen, were also struck by the apparent sincerity of their hosts. "What do we stand to gain by attacking a country with a population five or six times larger than ours?" Pol Pot exclaimed.

(2) These appeals for sanity may in fact be somewhat mischievous.

Using concrete examples, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary drew a parallel between Cambodia's and Vietnam's attitude towards Thailand, going back to 1975.

"When I came to Bangkok in October 1975," the Khmer Deputy Prime Minister [Ieng Sary] said, "the Vietnamese spoke out

against our visit. ‘Why are you making friends with our enemies?’ they charged. Needless to say, Democratic Kampuchea chose independence, because it considered this to be the right choice.”

Moreover, at the Non-Aligned Conference in Colombo, “Vietnam used Laos to attack ASEAN and Thailand. We refused to have anything to do with that.”

Third example: “Democratic Kampuchea and its news outlets have always refrained from taking a position on Thailand’s internal affairs. The same cannot be said for everybody.”

Ieng Sary concluded saying, “Even a socialist country is better off forging friendly relations with a reliable capitalist country than a two-faced socialist country.”

(3) One final interesting point: the Khmer minister informed the Thai delegation that Vietnam went as far as 42 km deep into Khmer territory. However he did not name the region they penetrated or if they have since been driven back.

INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE POL POT TO THE DELEGATION OF YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS VISTING KAMPUCHEA (17 March 1978)

From Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Kampuchea, 1978.

Question: Respected comrade Pol Pot, you are going, soon, to celebrate the third anniversary of the liberation of your country. Please tell us what are the outstanding achievements in national edification during these past three years.

Pol Pot: It is a pleasure for me to answer your question. During these nearly past three years, we have got a number of satisfactory results in the restoration and edification of our country, But, first of all, I would like to say that we still have a lot of work to do.

The first outstanding result is that we have solved the agricultural problem, especially in rice-growing. To have the problem of rice production solved means to have enough rice to feed our people. In 1976, we planned to get a yield of 3 tons of paddy per hectare. We achieved 80 to 90 per cent of this objective, which allowed us to solve the living conditions of our people and also to export rice. In 1977, we planned a yield of 3 tons of paddy per hectare for one crop and of 5 tons per hectare for two crops a year, We fulfilled this plan at nearly 100 per cent. Therefore, in 1977, we had a paddy production higher than that in 1976. We could then improve the living conditions of our people and export more rice.

Our slogan says: "If we have rice, we can have everything," because our people can eat their fill, we have rice to export and we can import the products we need. The results achieved in the agricultural production lay on the bases of the fundamental hydraulic projects that we have already achieved. The hydraulic projects are an important result to ensure in the future, the agricultural and rice production. We have solved the agricultural problem and from these

bases, the other sectors, like industry, cottage industry, cultural and social sectors, can also be developed.

Another outstanding result is that we have eliminated malaria which was a scourge for more than 80 per cent of our compatriots. In the past, every year, the number of the people who suffered of malaria were very high and they faced many difficulties in their work. Now, we have eliminated malaria at 90 per cent. So, the living conditions of our people have been considerably improving in the domain of health.

Another outstanding result is the basic elimination of the illiteracy which was a blemish in the former society. In that society there were indeed, faculties, high schools, secondary schools and primary schools in the cities. But the majority of the people in the countryside were illiterate. Now, we have fundamentally solved this problem. Our people can read and write. That is the basis which allows our people to progressively increase their cultural level. It is not only a part of the society but the entire people who can learn and study. We rely on these bases to further develop our education and schooling.

As for the other I results, they are less important, but would like to tell you that we have established and developed a sanitary network throughout the country. Each cooperative has its own medical center and its own center of making traditional, national and popular medicine. That has then allowed us to greatly improve the health of the people. The present situation is different from that in the old days. Previously, there were doctors only in Phnom Penh and in the big cities. Now, we have doctors all over throughout the country, in all cooperatives and even in the most remote areas in the country. The level of these medical men is still in the elementary stage, but relying on this basis, we will progressively develop their skills.

Concerning the cottage industry and workshops, there is no spectacular achievement. But, everywhere we have established a network of workshops. Every cooperative has its own cottage industry and workshops. They are the bases to further develop our cottage industry and lead it progressively towards industrialization.

These are a number of outstanding results. They have been achieved thanks to our people's endeavors under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea. The people work with their own hands, see with their own eyes the results of their work and they have enthusiastically enjoyed them.

Question: During our short stay in your beautiful country, we have had some evidences that your revolution radically cut off from the past. What model of society are you building up now?

Pol Pot: We have no model in building up our new society. The Special National Congress held at the end of April 1975 clearly specified the determinant role in the revolution, in the national liberation war, played by the worker and peasant people, who form the overwhelming majority of the people. It is this worker and peasant people who have endured the heaviest burden in the revolution. It is then this same worker and peasant people who must enjoy the most gains of the revolution, at present and in the future. The preamble of our Constitution has also stipulated this point. Our aspiration is to edify a society where happiness, prosperity and equality prevail for everybody, a society where there are neither exploiting class nor exploited class, neither exploiting people nor exploited people, and where everybody participates in production works and national defence. It is on these bases and goal that we are edifying our new society. So, the edification of the new society is undertaken in conformity with the aspirations of the entire people, especially those of the worker and peasant people who are the overwhelming majority of the population. If the people consider that the edification of this society is being on the correct way, then they would carry on this way. On the contrary, if they are not satisfied with, they would then decide differently. That would depend on them to decide.

According to our experiences, we totally rely on our people, in the revolution as well as in the national liberation war.

If the people undertake to do something by themselves, everything can be achieved, but if not, we could achieve nothing at

their place. That is to say that we have no preestablished model of a new society. We edify our society in conformity with the aspirations of our people as being stipulated in the preamble of the Democratic Kampuchea Constitution.

Question: As we have seen at this stage of your revolution, you have mobilized all your national forces to develop agriculture. Would you have any intention to develop also industry? And how would you establish the technical basis, that is to say how are you going to train the necessary cadres for this orientation, because for the moment, at our knowledge, you have neither university nor technical school?

Pol Pot: We have our objectives and plannings to quickly develop our industry. By relying on agriculture, we endeavor to develop industry. In order to have an independent economy we must develop agriculture, industry, cottage industry and other sectors. It is thus an orientation to which we are paying great attention. But, to edify industry, where could we find the capital? We rely on agriculture. For example, we have established trade relations with Yugoslavia. We export agricultural products and we import industrial products, at one and the game time for the needs of agriculture and industry. In the parallel direction with that, we have a policy to quickly train many national technicians.

If we speak about universities, faculties and colleges like in the old days, there would seem to you of nonexistence. But, we have trained our technical cadres from the basis. In the cooperatives, there are many specialized workshops where studies are closely linked to the production works. It is likewise in the factories, in Phnom Penh as well as in the provinces. Before liberation, there were a number of graduates, educated in Phnom Penh, in provinces or at abroad. But, as concrete results in the movement of cottage industry and industry, they had served with less efficiency than the national technicians coming from the basis can do at present. According to this experience, we have trained our technicians from the basis and we have progressively developed their technical skills, They participate in the

production works and have gained concrete experiences—positive or negative—which permit them to move forward.

Before liberation, some of you had been for several times in Kampuchea. At that time, there were very few national technicians, there were many more foreign technicians. Now, we are attaching great importance to the training of national technicians. As concrete results of our training system, let's take an example in the field of hydraulic projects. On the Prek Tnot river, while nothing has been achieved for many years, in 1976–77, we have built 5 dams. Therefore, with concrete practice we can draw concrete experiences, and we assess that if we had to wait for a long time, we could not serve in due time the movement of agricultural production, solve and improve the standard of living of our people.

Let us take more examples. Now, we produce husking-machines and threshing-machines, hydraulic pumps completely by ourselves. We produce them also with imported engines. These machines are manufactured by our technicians. Previously, they could not be produced in the country. All of them must be imported from abroad.

In brief, we pay great attention to this problem of industrial development and to the training of our national technicians. We shall develop the level of their knowledge by our own means. We think that we can do so at a certain degree. In combining closely the studies with the concrete practice, they have progressively gained more experiences. Then, they will go to friendly countries for training so that they could prove their scientific and technical knowledges. These are the principles on which we rely, but we will send our trainees only to friendly countries.

Question: We have seen that your cities have no population. Could you explain us what is the objective of this operation? Why have you abolished the role of the money, the salary system, the trade network? Would it be a passing orientation in the social and revolutionary transformation of your society or a model of society that you are really pursuing in building up?

Pol Pot: There are many reasons which led us to evacuate the population from Phnom Penh and other cities.

The first reason was an economic one, that is to ensure food supply for many millions of inhabitants in the cities. After having taken the problem into much consideration, we came to the conclusion that we could not solve this problem as long as such numerous population remained in the cities. But, if we evacuated this population to the countryside, in the cooperatives, the latter could feed them for they have rice-fields, instruments of production and everything they needed. We had cooperatives which could receive this population from the cities by letting them participate in rice-growing thanks to their oxen, buffaloes and instruments of production. In the countryside, the conditions were favorable for us while in the cities they were not favorable. Then, in order to solve the food problem, it was necessary to evacuate the population to the countryside. It is only when we can solve the food problem that the people have confidence in the revolution. If in the cities, the population died by starvation, they would not have any confidence in the revolution. Such was the economic reason.

But relating to this economic problem, there was the problem of defence and security of the country. Before liberation, we already knew the plan of defeat of the US imperialists and their lackeys. According to this plan, after our victory and when we entered into Phnom Penh, they would create difficulties to us in Phnom Penh, in the political, military, economic and other fields in order to destroy our revolution. Therefore, taking this situation into consideration, we evacuated the cities' population to the countryside, in the cooperatives, in order to solve the food problem and, at the same time, to crush beforehand the US imperialists' plan so that they could not attack us when we entered into Phnom Penh. Thus, the cities were not evacuated through a preestablished plan but they were in conformity with the situation at that time, that were the shortage of foodstuffs, the necessity to solve this problem for the population, and the US

imperialists' and their lackeys' plan aiming at destroying our revolution and taking back the power.

Concerning the function of the money, the salary and trade systems, I would like to tell you as follows:

In 1970–1971, we already liberated 75 to 80 per cent of our country. At that time, we had the political and military power, but not the economic power. The economy was in the hands of landlords and capitalists. Thus, these latter amassed up the whole production for they had money. In the liberated areas, we fixed the price of paddy at 30 riels a tao (12 kilograms), the price at which the population must sell the paddy to the revolutionary power. But, the landlords and tradesmen bought it at 100 to 200 riels a tao and then they sold it to the Lon Nol clique. As for us, we had nothing. The population faced many difficulties in food supply. It was the same for our army. These difficulties had affected our national liberation war. After having well examined this situation, we decided to establish cooperatives so that they could take in hands the economy, the agricultural production in the countryside, the management, distribution, supply system and the exchanges between cooperatives on one hand and on the other hand between cooperatives and the State.

That is why we could take in hands the agricultural production and solve the problems of living conditions of the people. The people were enthusiastic and sent their sons and daughters to join the Army to fight against the enemy. When the cooperatives helped one another and developed their exchanges of products between themselves, the function of the money had been progressively reduced. In 1974, it was reduced by 80 per cent. Before liberation, only the State used money. It used it to buy various products in the areas not yet liberated for the needs of the liberated areas under its control. After these experiences, we asked for the people's opinion who judged that money had no utility for the cooperatives already succeeded in handling the exchange of products between themselves. Therefore, at that time, in the liberated areas, which had extended over more than 90 per cent of the country, with nearly 6 million inhabitants, we had

already solved that problem:, When the population of the cities were evacuated to the countryside, they were fully taken in charge by the cooperatives. This practice led us to give up the money up to now. What will be the situation the future? That would depend on our people. If the people say it's necessary to go back and use money, we should do so. But, if the people consider itis not necessary to use money, they will then decide accordingly. However, in the future this problem would depend on the concrete situation. That is why we have told you that have no specific or pre-established model. That would the development of the people's revolutionary movement and the progressively acquired experiences.

Concerning the salary system, there were also habits acquired in the past. In the revolutionary movement, especially during the national liberation war, there was no salary both among the cadres and in the army. As for the inhabitants, they also had no salary. Before liberation, in the liberated areas, cadres, array, population, that is nearly 6 millions inhabitants, had already used to live without salary. We have noticed that in the old days, the majority of our people had no salary. Only the functionaries had salary. Therefore, with these acquired habits, the population of the cities incorporated themselves in the cooperatives, the military and civil cadres, men and women fighters and workers have continued to live following the regime of supply in practice during the war. We consider that this practice has avoided a heavy burden on the people and allowed us to keep this money mainly for national defence and edification. What will be the situation in the future? That would depend on the concrete situation and the people.

Concerning the trade network, the State and cooperatives cooperate with each other to organize it. The State gathers cooperative productions and distributes them throughout the country or exports them abroad. The State imports the products from abroad to distribute them throughout the country. So far, we have done so. Those are the practices acquired during the war. What will be the situation in the future? That would depend also on the concrete situation. That is why we have not determined that it is definitive or

provisional. We have acted following the concrete situation and we continue to do so. The people are the fundamental factor.

Question: If we have understood well, Democratic Kampuchea faces many problems and difficulties of all kinds with her neighbours. What is your opinion and how could you solve these problems and overcome the present difficulties?

Pol Pot: Like all the newly liberated countries, Democratic Kampuchea has to face difficulties. That is normal. As far as I know, in the history, the difficulties of Kampuchea are not as great as those faced by some newly liberated countries. But, it is a fact that Democratic Kampuchea has difficulties.

The main difficulty is that we have abode by the position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance and of deciding by ourselves our own destiny. This position runs counter to some countries, that is the expansionists and the imperialists. But we assess that in abiding by the position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance our difficulties are less serious than those that we would face if the nation and the people of Kampuchea were subjugated or dissapeared. Therefore, we prefer to stand by our position of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, of non alignment, of deciding by ourselves our own destiny in overcoming all obstacles.

How to solve these difficulties? This problem would depend on the factors of our side and those of the opposing side. We have successively sought to solve this problem through meetings and negotiations. Immediately after liberation, in June 1975, myself and other comrades leaders, we had been to Hanoi. We decided to go and showed our goodwill in seeking to solve the problems existing since a long time. There were many problems but there was one problem, the problem of border to be discussed. We said that Kampuchea wants only to live in peace and, in order to preserve, develop and strengthen the friendship between our two countries and peoples, she considers as state borders between the two countries the present borders that Vietnam has solemnly recognized in 1966–1967 and committed itself

to respect these. We have not claimed our former territories. We have not also claimed our former islands. We have not claimed even an inch of territory. The Vietnamese did not deign to reply for they have fostered greater ambitions, that is to take possession of the whole Kampuchea under the form of "Indochina Federation" by sending every year many hundreds of thousands or millions of Vietnamese to come and install themselves in Kampuchea. In 30 years or more, the people of Kampuchea would become a national minority. That is very clear.

In May 1976, we invited the Vietnamese to come and negotiate in Phnom Penh. At first, they did not want to come. When they arrived, they said that they were coming because we had insisted on inviting them to come. During the negotiations, Vietnam rejected the borders that it had recognized in 1966 and 1967 and that it has committed itself to respect. Vietnam told us that in 1966 it agreed with Kampuchea for at that time it needed to fight against the US imperialists. Therefore, it was a dupery. Furthermore, Vietnam has proposed a new borderline cutting off a great part of our territorial waters. For us, that is expansionism and annexationism. That is no friendship. Because we are small, Vietnam has exerted pressure on us. But we have not accepted it and the negotiations had not then led to any result.

In the parallel direction with these negotiations, the Vietnamese continued to attack us along the border aiming at forcing us to comply with. But we have always refused. After having waged a hard struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys, we cannot accept to be slaves of Vietnam. Neither our people nor our Army can accept it.

Now, how to solve this problem? We will solve it in accordance to the concrete situation. If Vietnam really respects our independence and sovereignty, if Vietnam fosters a genuine friendship with us, there would be no difficulties in solving the problem. This problem could be solved at once. But if Vietnam stubbornly wants to take possession of Kampuchea, we must defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. But we

consider that our difficulties will evolve and could be solved progressively.

First of all, we have mobilized our forces to resolutely defend our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. To this end, the entire people are united and have redoubled their endeavors to increase production, improve their standard of living, increase exportations in order to accumulate more and more capital for national defence and edification.

At the same time, we think that the Democratic Kampuchea's friends in the world stand by our side and their number has been further increased. We are of the opinion that there are a lot of countries which cherish independence and some of them have a firm position of independence. Yugoslavia is an example. These independence- and justice-loving countries progressively and clearly discern those who are right from those who are wrong, those who want peace and friendship from those who are expansionists and aggressors.

We think the situation evolves in a direction more and more favorable for us. Thus, those who want to aggress and annex Kampuchea will be progressively aware of that they cannot do so. At that time, the problem would be solved. But we must continue to face this present situation.

Question: In the world, they write a lot with or without reason that your country is very closed. Would you have any intention to further open your country to the world? On what principles and in what direction?

Pol Pot: Since liberation, we have progressively received a friends. After liberation, we had to solve many problems, we had to organize our country, solve the problem of the living conditions of our people, that is we had to arrange our country, our home. And our friends came one after another. We are convinced that in the future, more friends will come. In 1975, some of them came, in 1976, there were more. In 1977, there were more than in 1976. In 1978, many more friends will

come to our country. In the future, they will be more and more. We open our country to our friends. We shall invite and welcome more and more friends to our home, to our country. And we shall further develop and strengthen our friendship with all friendly peoples and countries.

As for personages and organizations that have shown their friendship and their spirit of justice towards Kampuchea, we have invited them to pay a visit to our country and we shall invite more of them.

We are convinced that more and more friends will come and pay a visit to our country. But we must also arrange and embellish our home to receive our guests. You have paid a visit to our country, you have seen with your own eyes the devastations caused by the war. Those who have not seen Phnom Penh during the war would think that it was safe. Phnom Penh was not like it is today. Immediately after liberation, Phnom Penh was very dirty and there were everywhere networks of strongholds and barbed wire. Now, we have removed and cleaned them out.

Question: The relations between Democratic Kampuchea and Socialist Yugoslavia appear in friendship and cooperation. What possibilities would you find to speed up this cooperation and to extend the collaboration between our two friendly countries?

Pol Pot: Democratic Kampuchea and Yugoslavia are friendly countries and this friendship is based on the policy of nonalignment and independence. On this basis, we have ties of solid friendship to develop and strengthen our relations in all fields in the future. The relations in various fields have been developed and strengthened according to the possibilities of our two countries. As far as Kampuchea is concerned, we are striving to build up our country, increase our production and develop our trade exchanges with Yugoslavia. At present, our agricultural production cannot yet meet with all the demands of the friendly Yugoslavia. For example, in case of rubber, we produce some quantity but the quality is not equal. We

are striving to improve the quality of our production in order to increase our exchanges with Yugoslavia. Concerning the other fields, we progressively set up cooperation relations in according to the possibilities of our two countries. We think that the prospects of this cooperation are favorable for it does not lay only on the trade and economic relations, but also on an excellent political basis of friendship.

Question: Upon our return, we would like to present to our readers and tele-viewers the results, successes and preoccupations of Democratic Kampuchea and the leaders of this friendly and non-aligned country. That is why our last question is: Who are you, comrade Pol Pot? What is the past record of the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea?

Pol Pot: I am pleased to answer your question. But, first of all, I would like to tell you that my role and that of other comrades leaders represent only a small part of the national movement of Kampuchea, of the revolutionary movement of Kampuchea's people.

I am from a peasant family, during my childhood, I lived with my parents and helped them in their agricultural work. But after, according to the customs, I lived in a pagoda to learn how to read and write. I spent six years in pagoda and had been a monk for two years.

You are the first people to know my biography.

When I grew up, I attended the primary school and after this school, I could not immediately attend the secondary school because I did not pass the examination. I went back to the agricultural works to my parents. Only after that I passed the examination for entering the secondary school, I finished my secondary education and I attended the technical secondary school. The studies lasted more than one year. There were general technical studies, especially in electricity. After successfully passing the examination I received a scholarship to continue my studies abroad, in France.

In the first year, I studied with diligence. I was a passably good student. Then I initiated in the movement of the progressivist

students and I had not enough time to study. Two years after, as I neglected my studies, the authorities cut off my scholarship. I had then to come back home.

I joined the underground movement of struggle in Phnom Penh. After that, I joined the maquis to participate in the struggle against French colonialists.

After the Geneva Agreements in 1954, I came back to Phnom Penh and carried on my underground activities. In the current life, I was professor of history, geography and civics in a private school. I have contacted with various circles, I militated in the pupils, students and intellectuals' circles, in the workers' circles and also in the peasants' circles.

In 1963, I could not stay anymore in Phnom Penh. I had to join the maquis. I was not very well-known to the public. But Lon Nol's police followed my activities. They knew me but they did not know exactly who I was. In Phnom Penh, I was the general responsible of the movement in the capital. I was also in charge of the liaisons with the countryside.

I joined the maquis in 1963 and I came back to Phnom Penh on April 24, 1975.

In 1960, the Congress of the Party elected me as member of the Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Central Coronate of the Party.

In 1961, I was Deputy-Secretary of the Standing Committee.

In 1962, our comrade Secretary of the Party was secretly assassinated by the enemy. I assumed then the function of acting Secretary.

In 1963, the Second Congress of the Party elected me as Secretary. And the following Congresses confirmed me successively in my charges.

In the countryside, I stayed mainly in the most remote areas. I travelled all over the country. I know fairly well my people, the geographical and economic situation of my country. My backing base was in the region of the national minorities, that is in the North-East region. I know perfectly these national minorities. They were very

miserable. They wore only a very small pagne. They had no salt to eat. Now, one cannot distinguish them from the other people. They wear the same dress and live like everyone. They have enough rice, salt, medicines and other products. Their conditions of living have been considerably improved.

I would like to tell you about a particular fact. In 1950 when I was student abroad, I was in a brigade of workers in Zagreb for more than one month during my vacation. I had contacts with Yugoslav people, and I attended the Yugoslav folkloric performances. So, from that time I had ties of friendship with the Yugoslav people.

INTERVIEW WITH BROTHER NUMBER ONE (12 April 1978)

From *Searching for the Truth* 16 (2001): 2–5, originally conducted by the Democratic Kampuchea Press Agency.

Question: We would like you to describe the situation when the Vietnamese were invading Democratic Kampuchea. What was the purpose of this invasion? What was the resolution of the government about this attack? We ask this question for the purpose of spreading the news to the Kampuchean people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

Pol Pot: I am sure that the people and the forces obviously know about this situation, for they were all victimized by the Vietnamese invasions. In addition, our party, our government, and our media have been broadcasting this violation since it first began. Thus, I will answer some aspects of your question. To start with, I would like to express my gratitude to the heroic Kampuchean citizens and the elite Kampuchean Revolutionary Army who have been cooperating into "one string" under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and subsequently succeeding in defeating all evil acts of provocation, violence, sabotage, interference, espionage, and coup by the Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese have never given up their Indo-China Federation plan. Systematically, they have been planning and practicing missions since 1930. At first they wanted a single state of Indo-China with one party, one army, and one country.

They tried to achieve this goal through peace and friendship, which are the result of accords or treaties on cooperation, especially in the areas of politics, armed forces, economics, and culture. After liberation day in 1975, the Vietnamese still pursued their purpose using the same techniques. This is their image of the Indo-China Federation. Their goal is the elimination of borders to make Kampuchea part of their country. The Vietnamese exercised control

over the party, armed forces, economics, and domestic and foreign policies, in a way that would make Kampuchea a part of Vietnam. Thus, we would become a minority group in the federation. They carried out espionage and sabotage, made their spies burrow within, and caused the destruction of [our] internal solidarity. They have been doing this over a long period of time. Significantly, in the years between 1965 and 1975, when they asked for refuge on Kampuchean land, they used friendship to create an autonomous party in Kampuchea, which was controlled by Revolutionary Kampuchea, and the Kampuchean people were kind enough to let them stay. But they used this force to stage constant violations against Kampuchean sovereignty and territorial integrity. Additionally, they attempted to break up CPK's Central Committee and installed their favoured elements who were debauched, corrupt, knew nothing, and did whatever they were told to.

Fortunately, they were heavily defeated. This was the result of strong cooperation between the Kampuchean people and the Revolutionary Army under the perfect leadership of the CPK with continuous commitment to adhere to the stance of independence, self-reliance, and control over their future destinies.

After liberation in 1975, the Yuon continued to conquer and violate Kampuchean islands. From 1975 to 1977, they interfered in our internal affairs and attempted to create coups again and again, with help from their internal and external attacks and the CIA, with attempts to dissolve Revolutionary Kampuchea and split Democratic Kampuchea into pieces easy to control. Once again their success was halted.

After September 1977, the Yuon took a risk to make an undeclared, large-scale war with DK, with the help of huge military forces, divisions, and technical council for the purpose of occupying the eastern part of the Mekong River and the Southwest Zone. They would designate their puppets, from village chiefs to provincial governors, in their future conquered territories. Moreover, they would use their own Vietnamese armies to control the areas.

The Yuon hoped that they could take over the whole country after this initial invasion. Fortunately, they were shamefully defeated on 6 January 1978 by the Revolutionary Armies and the Kampuchean people. In the face of the failure, the Yuon still continued their invasion in accordance with the so-called Indo-Chinese Federation plan. Apparently, from February to 30 March 1978 they raided the areas along the border, especially the Eastern and Southwest Zones, by using military forces from 11 divisions. They once tried to hide their real plan under a pretext of so-called negotiation declaration. It is well known that the Yuon were cheating the people and the world for the purpose of aggression and annexation against Kampuchea. Our people and revolutionary armies are always on the alert and delivered a counterattack successfully against the Vietnamese at this second stage. A question has been raised, "Right now, have the Vietnamese abandoned their ambitious land encroaching plan?" The answer is: No. Their military divisions, heavy artillery and tanks are carrying out their invasions and shelling of our DK.

For instance, on 7 April 1978, while yelling that they had abandoned the Indo-Chinese Federation plan and wanted to resolve the border quarrel, the Yuon's divisional forces attacked the border at Lork Toanhan and Cheav Bdei Mountain in Kampot Province. At the same time, in Kampong Trabek District, Prey Veng Province, two regiments opened an attack on Kampuchea. Also, a Vietnamese division attacked Kampuchea's eastern part of Kampong Cham Province, and districts along the border, such as Ponnea Krek, Me Mut, Tramoung. Furthermore on national road 13, from Loc Ninh to Snuol close to the border, two Vietnamese regiments undertook an invasion. Still we exclude many other smaller attacks carried out by battalions and companies at Mondul Kiri and Rattanak Kiri. Is this a coincidence or a systematic plan? Negotiation was just a pretext to fool the world that they really wanted a non-violent resolution. This did not happen only on 7 April, but on many more days. Whatever methods they use, we understand all.

Today we can see much more clearly the unwise acts and dangerous plans of the Vietnamese, and we defeated them on 7, 8, 9,

and 10 April 1978 as soon as their huge attack was initiated. Once again our people and the revolutionary armies achieved victory. Our Kampuchean people and brave military forces have identified the Vietnamese aggression, territorial expansion and tactics for dozens of years. Clearly, at Kampot battlefront at 6 a.m. on April 7 the Yuon began attacking; at 12 am our armies managed to put them in panic-stricken circumstances. Corpses were scattered everywhere. At Kompong Trabek battlefield they also lost. At Snuol they also lost. Whenever they appeared, we began raiding them. These acts show that what the Vietnamese government said about making friendship, international coalitions, and resolving border quarrels was just a new lie to conceal their invasion, which was used to convince the Vietnamese people and the world.

What is the stance of the DK government's resolution?

I solemnly declared on 17 January 1978 and I also held a press conference with Yugoslavian journalists on 17 March 1978 about this, but with more recent information I would like to express the stance again, as follows:

> 1. The Yuon must respect our independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and rights to deal with the affairs of our DK government. The Yuon must not interfere in our internal affairs, commit sabotage, spy, violate, or shell our territory.
>
> 2. Respect independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of the land and sea boundaries agreed upon in 1966-1967 by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the Hanoi Government.

I honestly say that DK and its people are willing to live peacefully inside our borders and want friendship with our neighboring countries.

That's why we did not re-open any old cases. We have the right to re-open the border issues, and relocate both our sea and land borders, since we have adequate evidence and reasons to support it.

For example, recall the case of Kampuchea Krom, the lost islands that the French colonialists gave to Co Chin China, but the Ngor Dim Deam and former Prey Nokor regimes had occupied. In particular, DK has both legal reasons and reasons based on land boundaries, which state that our sea stretches to the south of the Brévié line. However, since it wants to have friendship, Kampuchea doesn't revise any case concerning such issues. Therefore, do not misunderstand that Kampuchea knows nothing about the loss. The Yuon must be aware that expanding their own territory is injustice, enmity, and defeat. The ambition to occupy any country's territory is an atrocious crime against international laws. DK suggests that for there to be peace between the two countries, Vietnam must carefully respect the above-mentioned stances and abandon forever the idea and plans to have an Indo-China Federation within a framework of a single party, single country, single nationality, or single army, occupying and dissolving Kampuchean nationality. This abandonment is not to be done through words, but through actions. Otherwise, no one would believe that this is a true peace.

Coping with this situation, the Kampuchean people and Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have to be highly vigilant in defending their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the nation's reputation and little by little eradicate the invading Yuon from the face of the globe. The Yuon should choose to make peace and accept the good will of Kampuchea rather than continue their greedy annexation. I declare the Vietnamese government to be at peace for the sake of both countries, for our friendship so that Kampuchean and Vietnamese citizens can live in harmony, and have peace in the whole region.

FURTHER EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH ON 12 APRIL 1978

From *The Call* 7, no. 18 (May 8, 1978)

I have already solemnly declared [our position] on January 17, 1978, and later confirmed it in my interview to the Yugoslav journalists on March 17, 1978. But, today, based on my previous statements, I would like to confirm it once again.

1) Vietnam has to sincerely respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and the right of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to decide on Kampuchea's affairs. Vietnam must not in any case interfere in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea or carry out activities of subversion, spying, violation, aggression, pounding, machine-gunning, bombing against the territory of Democratic Kampuchea.

2) Vietnam has to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea within her territorial and maritime borders that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Government of Hanoi solemnly declared to recognize in 1966 and 1967.

The Kampuchean people and Democratic Kampuchea are constantly endowed with a genuine goodwill: they wish only to live in peace and security inside their borders, and have friendly relations with all neighboring countries. That is why Kampuchea's people do not want to dig up old accounts.

If it is a question of right of claiming, right of digging up the documents on the borders, of asking for rectification of territorial and maritime borders, only Democratic Kampuchea has these rights.

She has many good reasons to do so. For example, she has the right to raise the problem of Kampuchea Krom, that of the Kampuchean islands that the French colonialist regime had bound to the "Cochinchina," and of which the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem and those of Saigon had then taken possession.

Notably, concerning the maritime border, if Democratic Kampuchea would dig up the accounts... the drawing of Kampuchea's

maritime border would be situated further to the South of the Brevié's line. But, as Democratic Kampuchea wishes to have friendly relations, she does not dig up these documents.

Let Vietnam not misjudge and think that Kampuchea is naive! Let Vietnam not try to foment all kinds of schemes in order to annex and swallow at its will Kampuchea's territory! Vietnam must be aware that to carry out annexation is injustice, is hostility and would lead Vietnam to failure. The insatiable ambition of swallowing the other's territories is barbarousness and it is contrary to international laws and practices.

In order to have friendship between the two countries, Democratic Kampuchea thinks that Vietnam must absolutely respect the above-mentioned points and abandon forever its idea and plan of "Indochina Federation," its plan of "one party, one country, one people, one army" as well as its idea and plan of annexing Kampuchea and of putting an end to the Kampuchean race.

Vietnam must abandon not in words. but in deeds forever. If it is not so, the so-called friendship and solidarity, the so-called special friendship and special solidarity, the so-called negotiations do nothing but mislead the Vietnamese people and world opinion.

Facing such a situation, the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea constantly hold aloft their revolutionary vigilance to resolutely defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country, their national honor and dignity in order to drive out forever the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories, and to inflict on them one defeat after another until the definitive one.

We call upon the Vietnamese side to accept Kampuchea's friendship in the interest of the Kampuchean people and that of the Vietnamese people, for the friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam, between the Kampuchean people and the Vietnamese people, for the progress, prosperity, peace and security of Kampuchea and Vietnam, as well as for peace and security in the region.

TALKS WITH THE SWEDEN-KAMPUCHEA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION (August 1978)

From Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Kampuchea, 1978.

Question: Excellency, what is your opinion about the intellectuals and educated men of the former society? Can their knowledge be used for the reconstruction and building up of the new Kampuchea?

Pol Pot: The Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea clearly stipulates: "Every citizen of Kampuchea has the duty to defend and build up the country in accordance with his abilities and his possibilities."

Concerning the intellectuals and those who have been trained in the former society, they have also the right to work like every citizen of Kampuchea, each one in accordance with his possibilities and abilities. In the revolutionary movement of Kampuchea, whether before or during the 5 year war against the US imperialist aggressors or after liberation, they have participated in various activities following their task and they have brought about an appreciable contribution.

In the restoration and construction of the new Kampuchea, they have also brought about their contribution, each one in accordance with his possibilities and abilities.

Question: Excellency, your Government has accused Vietnam of carrying out activities aiming at fomenting coups d'état in your country. Can you give us some precise details about this?

Pol Pot: Vietnam has used all means, even the most despicable and cruelest ones, provided it could swallow Kampuchea following its strategy of "Indochina Federation." The coup d'état is a form which Vietnam has unceasingly resorted to in order to carry out this strategy. During the 5 year war, at the time when they have come to take refuge

in the Kampuchea's territory, the Vietnamese have tried several times to foment coups d'état aiming at overthrowing the Communist Party of Kampuchea and creating a party, puppet of Vietnam, called "Workers' Party." In 1970, they fomented a coup d'état but they failed. In 1973, they fomented once again, but they still failed. In 1975, before the total liberation of our country, they still tried once again to foment a coup d'état, but they failed again. And since the total liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have continued to carry out activities in order to foment coups d'état against Kampuchea. At the same time, they have carried out acts of subversion and provocation along the borders, in our territorial waters and islands, and they have perpetrated aggressions against Democratic Kampuchea. During this year of 1978, after having suffered successive heavy and ignominious defeats in their aggressions against Kampuchea since the end of 1977, the Vietnamese have tried to foment a new coup d'état. They have planned to assassinate the leaders of the Communist Party of Kampuchea by their agents. They thought that if they succeeded in assassinating the leaders of Kampuchea, there would certainly be confusion, for there would not be anymore leader of the Party and the State. They would then mobilize their armed forces to aggress, invade and annex Kampuchea and take possession of her at one go, hoping that the Party, the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea will kneel down in front of their savage forces. That is to have a daydream. The Party, the people and the valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea cherish their motherland more than their own lives, and they have inflicted a very heavy and ignominious defeat, unprecedented in the history of the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. This Party, this nation, this people and this Army will surely inflict on the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories a bitter defeat, and that, in spite of all Vietnamese maneuvers.

Question: Excellency, there are some contradictions among the non-aligned countries. What do you think about these contradictions and the future of the non-aligned movement?

Pol Pot: The political principles of the non-aligned movement are the mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the non-interference, the non-aggression, the mutual respect on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit, the respect of the right of each country and each people to decide by themselves their own destiny, the non-resort to the force to intimidate, threaten and aggress the other, the non-adherence to any bloc, the prohibition for all foreign countries to install military bases in its own territory. That is the soul of the non-aligned movement and also that of all the independence-, peace-, and justice-loving countries throughout the world.

The contradictions indeed existed within the non-aligned countries. There have been in the past, and there still are at present. And there will still be in the future. They are contradictions between two opposite forces.

On one side, some get their followers together under the orders of their master on the outside aiming at placing the movement under their wing. In the past, the US imperialists were the chieftain, who have mobilized their followers to oppose the movement of non-alignment. At present, Vietnam and Cuba, under the order of the international expansionists, are striving to gather their followers to transform the movement of non-alignment into their instrument.

On the other side, there are forces which defend the sacred principles of the non-aligned movement. The overwhelming majority of the non-aligned countries have defended these principles and resolutely waged the struggle under various forms against a handful of countries, which have posed as non-aligned countries in order to carry out activities aiming at destroying the non-aligned movement.

At the beginning of 1976, Vietnam and Cuba tried to induce Democratic Kampuchea to join a group they called “progressist group” inside the non-aligned movement in order to harm and lead this movement to serve their strategy of aggression and expansion.

Democratic Kampuchea had immediately rejected this maneuver of Vietnam and Cuba by telling them that this would mean to set up an alliance inside the non-aligned movement and to divide and split the movement.

At the same time, more and more countries which do not belong to the non-aligned movement, have defended the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, of mutual respect, equality, non-interference, non-aggression, non-resorting to the force, etc. and have opposed to all the countries and their supporters which have violated and destroyed these principles.

At the present stage, the position of defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the right to decide by oneself one's own destiny has been strengthened and is strengthening powerfully. This force has highly emerged in the five continents of the world. The forces of the US imperialists and their puppets, the forces of the international expansionists and their puppets as well as the other reactionary forces which aim at destroying the will of being independent and sovereign of the independence- and justice-loving countries and peoples the world over have suffered and are suffering bitter defeats. In the future, they will still suffer heavier and more ignominious defeats.

Democratic Kampuchea has faith in the sacred principles of the non-aligned movement and is confident with the brilliant future of these principles.

Question: Excellency, in your opinion, what are the prospects of a development of the relations between Sweden and Kampuchea?

Pol Pot: Democratic Kampuchea wishes that the relations between our two peoples and two countries, Kampuchea and Sweden, would develop favorably and quickly on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and the right to decide by oneself one's own destiny, of non interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and reciprocal benefit.

The progressist peace- and justice-loving Swedish people have supported the struggle of the Kampuchea's people, The Sweden-Kampuchea Friendship Association has played here a pioneer and vanguard role. Democratic Kampuchea and her people would like to express their most profound thanks and wish that the ties of friendship between our two peoples and two countries, Kampuchea and Sweden, would further develop.

We are convinced that there are wide prospects for the development of our relations of friendship in various fields.

TALKS WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE ASSOCIATION BELGIUM-KAMPUCHEA (5 August 1978)

From Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Kampuchea, 1978.

I The Role of the Regular Army, Regional Army and Guerilla Forces

1. The regular army play the role of mobile forces to annihilate enemy forces. The regional Army ensure the defence inside the provinces.

The guerilla forces ensure the defence in the bases which previously were villages and communes and at present, are cooperatives. The guerilla forces carry out patrols. If they meet the enemy, they immediately attack them and report to the regional level. If the regional forces can engage the attack, they would do so. If the attack has to be on a larger scale, the regular forces would intervene.

2 The Recruitment into the Army

The recruitment is made on the basis of revolutionary, political and ideological positions of the fighters as well as their spirit of fighting and their sense of duty in the Army.

The voluntary adhesion of the person concerned is necessary, but in order to be admitted into the army, he has, besides, to prove his dynamism and combativity, for our Army is a revolutionary Army. This army then [is] to be endowed with a revolutionary spirit and ideology. Once they are in the Army, the fighters and cadres receive a constant revolutionary, ideological and political education under the leadership of the party.

3 Does the Army Ensure the Security?

The task of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is to ensure the national defence. They do not ensure the security, except in certain

circumstances when the help of one Army's unit is requested by such and such an organization.

4 Security

Our security is a public security fundamentally ensured by the people, for our policy is to prevent insecurity. It means that the people solve themselves all contradictions, small or big. Regular meetings are organized, during which criticism and self-criticism are carried out, which allow us to solve all contradictions as they appear progressively and to ensure to the maximum the harmony within the people. Even those who are the most backward can make progress with a patient and constant education.

The Security service in Democratic Kampuchea is reduced to a minimum. There is no repression like in the past. Fundamentally, it is the people who ensure security.

5 Problem of Military Training within the People

Our people are not submitted to the military training. But we attach importance to inculcate them the revolutionary spirit, the patriotic spirit, the love for the people and to make them assimilate the political line of our Party so that they actively participate in the national defence construction. We also attach importance to inculcate [with] the spirit of solidarity with all the peoples the world over and the hatred towards all aggressors and expansionists. On this basis, the people are endowed with an ardent patriotism. That is the fundamental factor to ensure national defence and internal security.

II Problem of Culture, Sports, and Leisure

1 Culture

The culture of Democratic Kampuchea is a new one: national and progressist culture based on national tradition.

From the national traditions we keep only what is progressist and useful to our revolution. We eliminate all what is reactionary and retrograde. Besides, basing on this national and progressist character, we create a new culture which at the same time as it serves a new, sound, pleasant life and the national construction, contributes to the political and ideological education of the people and to the strengthening of their revolutionary positions, their patriotism and their attachment to the independence, national sovereignty and territory integrity.

The national patrimonies which have been saved from the enemy's destructions and plunderings during the war are preserved and we have progressively organized useful researches for our revolutionary movement. It is the same for all foreign progressist books saved from the war. The foreign cultures, so long as they are progressist, are also useful for us.

2 Leisures

We have progressively organized leisures in conformity with situation of our country. At present, leisures are still limited for we are in a situation of post-war period and we have to strive to increase production in order to improve the people's living conditions. However, that may be, since 1975 we have progressively organized and developed leisures, such as listening to the music and songs on the radio, artistic groups of amateurs organized in various basic units, film- shows in according to the possibilities. Besides, visits are organized in near or remote regions following the possibilities of each basic unit. These visits are excursions, exchanges of experiences and study tours and they have a deep political significance, for they let our workers and peasants see a wider and wider horizon and know better and better their motherland and its progress in all fields: agriculture, industry, culture, etc.

3 Sports

We have progressively organized sport activities. All units in the Army practice physical culture. The children and young people do the same by devoting themselves to productive works, by sweeping house and yard, watering vegetables early in the morning before going to work.

4 Art

We have radio, cinema and artistic groups of amateurs organized in the basic units, in Phnom Penh as well as in the countryside and in the cooperatives. We continue developing these activities. Like we have preserved our national patrimony, Angkor Wat, we have preserved the good traditions which are useful to the new life of our people.

III Justice

In Democratic Kampuchea, it is not the court, as in the former regime, which solves the contradictions among the people. It is the people who solve all the problems, in the factories as well as in the cooperatives. The high authorities at the district or regional level intervene only from 5 to 10 per cent of the cases.

The enemies of the people's power are sentenced by the people. In all cooperatives and factories, regular meetings are organized during which criticism and self-criticism are carried out. The qualities and shortcomings of each one are known to everybody. It is in this way that the education of the people is carried out, education which allows us to enlighten everyone and then to prevent any opposition. Nevertheless, if opponents appear, they would be completely isolated from the people's masses.

The counter-revolutionary elements, who refuse to correct themselves in spite of our successive explanations, criticism and self-criticism are judged by the people. The court intervenes only in order to ratify the people's judgement.

We have no prison, and we do not even use that word. As for the bad elements, we send them to work in production.

1 For the ordinary cases, they are sent to carry out production work among the people.

2 For the cases of dangerous and inveterate recidivists, they are dispatched to work in the worksites and in the especially organized farms to allow them to reeducate themselves.

IV Wedding

The young men and young girls get married at their will. After the wedding, if there is any problem in getting on happily together, the collectivity helps the married couple to solve it amicably. But if the couple could not live together anymore, they could freely get a divorce. The court has not to intervene. Today, in general, divorce is quite seldom, for everybody has already reached to a high level of political consciousness. Each family carries out a secured life, in a sound and pure society. In general, there could not then [be] any unsolvable contradiction inside the family.

V The People's Living Conditions

95 per cent of the population enjoy much better living conditions than in the former regime. Previously, these people had neither land nor job. Constantly driven back to starvation and always being exposed to diseases, they had to sell their sons and daughters and even their wives. For them, life was hard and was not secured. They were submitted to oppression and exploitation. They worked as slaves and did not receive the fair counter-part of their work.

At present, they are masters and enjoy all the fruits of their work. They work as they have done previously or less painfully. But their standard of living is much better and more secured than before. Their family's life has been notably improved.

There are only about 5 per cent of the population who work harder than before, for in the former society, these latter did not work at all or very little. But now, they are conscious that in order to live they have to work and that they have to work in order to contribute to the defence, the national construction and the raising of the people's standard of living.

Therefore, the living conditions of the people on the whole have been better secured and are progressively improving in all fields. And the people further enjoy happiness in the society, in the family and individually with the progress achieved by the country in all fields.

VI Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea

The Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea includes members and non-members of the Party. 60 per cent are members of the Party.

VII Freedoms of the People

In Democratic Kampuchea, we carry out democratic centralism among the people in all problems.

By virtue of this principle, everybody has the right to put forward his opinions, favorable or not favorable, for or against, in all meetings, on all questions. It is only when everybody has expressed all his opinions that the collectivity would adopt a decision. Later, if someone has some problems to bring up against the previous decision or some suggestions in order to improve it, we discuss it again democratically at the meeting. And the collectivity decides it. On that is based our democratic centralism.

VIII Religion

In Kampuchea, buddhism is linked to the peasantry. The overwhelming majority of monks came from the peasant circles. The

peasants have participated in the revolution and acquired a deep revolutionary consciousness. Particularly during the national liberation war, the revolutionary movement was very powerful. The peasants have very actively participated in it, on the one hand, by sending their children to fight at the front, on the other hand, on developing production, in the rear. It was this the revolutionary peasantry who had driven the monks to join the revolution. Numerous are monks who have unfrocked themselves. Especially during 1973–1974, the number of monks have been greatly reduced. Now, it has still been further reduced. It remains only a small number of believers, including mainly old aged people. The problem of religion has thus been solved by itself in Kampuchea.

As for pagodas, they have been destroyed by the enemies. At present, we preserve those which are still in good condition.

IX The Former Civil Servants of the Lon Nol Regime

At present, they live and work like everybody in the cooperatives. It Is the same for the national capitalists. Some work in the State services and departments, but most of them are in the cooperatives.

X Concerning Those Who Come Back From Abroad

Those who come back from abroad work either in the cooperatives or at the worksites or in the State services and departments. Most of them participate in the production work with the people's masses, soi that they could be aware of that the people's masses constitute an inexhaustible source of knowledges and that they could strengthen their confidence in their own people and nation. They could ever since then participate in national construction following the position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance in accordance with the concrete conditions of the country, by bringing about their knowledges in contribution to the rich experiences of the people's masses. Otherwise, they can neither display their initiative nor their creativeness.

Now, a great majority of them have already succeeded in strengthening their confidence in the people and usefully bring about their contribution to the task of national construction.

XI Concerning Kampuchean Nationals Living Abroad

Those who wish to come back to the country could do so at any moment, without taking into account the country where. they live, provided that this return is made following the rules and laws in force.

Among those who left the country before the liberation or right just after the liberation were, some indeed enemy's agents, but the others were victims of lying propagandas of the latter. It is normal that those who have been duped want to come back home. If they decide to dos so, we are glad to welcome them back. Some of them have already done so. Besides, a great number of our nationals living abroad are patriots and firmly defend Democratic Kampuchea against the slanderous and disparaging campaigns of the imperialists, expansionists, reactionaries and traitors.

As for the traitors and enemy's agents, they are just a small handful. They have betrayed when they were in the country and they continue to betray from abroad. This is nothing out of the ordinary. It is so in every country in the world.

As far as we have been aware of, for Democratic Kampuchea, the problem is much lesser than for some countries.

XII Concerning Foreign Husbands and Wives

We respect the will of the concerned people. They are free to join back their husbands or wives in Kampuchea. As for their children, they are free to take up the nationality of their choice. All this would only depend on them. We do not carry out discrimination.

We do not carry out discrimination. We have noticed that, because of the war, some could not support to live in Kampuchea and went to live abroad.

At present, our country has been liberated, but it is still in a situation of post-war period, a war of the most devastating ones. We have to do all our efforts to increase production and to provide for our needs. In this situation, some have come back to Kampuchea.

XIII Telecommunications

We have proceeded by stages in accordance with our possibilities. We have established connections with China and, through China, we can get into communication with the other parts of the world.

We have just established direct connections with Singapore. We will progressively establish connections with other countries.

As for the Kampuchea's nationals living abroad and having received no news from their families or their friends staying in the country, they can send their letters through our Embassy in Beijing.

XIV Cities

The population come back progressively to the cities in accordance with the development of the industry.

XV Concerning Drug Addicts, Prostitutes and Their Children

We give them the possibility to live and to educate themselves among the people. Like the whole people, they enjoy political education. Most of them have become ordinary people. Their children live also among the people like everybody.

XVI Concerning coups d'état

Since the liberation, the US imperialists have successively fomented coups d'état but they failed.

The most serious attempts at coups d'état have been fomented by Vietnam and their supporters, for their objective is to swallow Kampuchea. In order to realize this objective on the one hand, they

have tried to persuade and dupe us and, after having failed in their attempts, they have decided to attack us from outside. On the other hand, they have striven to achieve their coups d'état by attempting to assassinate the leaders of Kampuchea by their agents. Since 1976, they have systematically carried out these attempts at coups d'état but every time they have failed.

XVII The Position of Democratic Kampuchea with Regard to the United Nations

Democratic Kampuchea considers that from the theorical point of view, the United Nations Charter is correct. But in practice, the imperialists and expansionists have distorted the spirit of this Charter for their interests and in order to cover up their aggressive schemes and their interferences against the other countries and peoples, especially against the poor countries and peoples.

In Democratic Kampuchea, the people enjoy the fundamental public and political rights as well as the economic, social and cultural rights. Their right to live in all fields has been ensured; their right to work on the lands, in the factories or in other sectors of activities has been secured, foodstuffs, clothes, medicines, medical cares, housings and studyings have also been secured.

XVIII Public Health

The Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have as objective to have a Population of 15 to 20 millions inhabitants from how within 10 to 15 years. For this purpose, we have a policy aiming at preserving and improving the forces of our people, we have a policy of prevention and protection against the industrial injuries. In fact, we have not yet got anything that could expose our workers to great dangers, such as big scaffoldings, iron and steel factories or mines.

In a parallel direction, we take care of improving the health of our people as well as that of our workers.

1. Enough quantity of food is ensured.
2. It is the same for medicines.
3. Our workers are not submitted to working rhythms set by the electronic equipment, like the workers in the capitalist countries.

They have breaks in the morning as well as in the afternoon. Besides, in the factories they have space, ventilation and natural lighting which ensure relaxed working conditions.

In the countryside, when the weather is hot, the breaks are more often. On the other hand, we turn to account the fresh hours to work and we take break when it is too hot.

Furthermore, our workers enjoy another favorable condition: they live in a sound society. Safe from all debauchery and venereal diseases, their health has been rapidly improved.

XIX Economic problem: The Reasons of Doing Away with Money and the Future Prospects

The abolition of money was linked at its origin to urgent needs of our national liberation war.

In 1970–1971 we had already liberated 70 to 80 per cent of our territory. We held the political and military power. But the economical power slipped away from us. It was in the hands of the landowners and the capitalists. Besides, the Lon Nol's money still continued to be legal tender in our liberated area. Thanks to Lon Nol's underrated money, the landowners and the capitalists monopolized all the rice production in order to sell it back to the enemy, thus depriving our people and Army of foodstuffs. This had greatly hurt the national liberation war. In these conditions, it was not possible for us to win. In order to win, we had to ensure the control of the rice production. Our only resort was then to generalize the cooperatives of agricultural production which already started to set up themselves in many places of our liberated area. This is what we have done since mid-1973.

With the generalization of the cooperatives of agricultural production, the peasants as well as the revolutionary power have become masters of all the rice production. The people's living conditions could be better ensured as well as the supply for the Army. At the same time, the policy of cutting off all food supply to the enemy became more effective. The State was in a position to secure the monopoly of the principal strategical products, such as rice, salt, material and motor-fuel.

In our liberated area, the role of money had rapidly reduced. In 1974, it reduced by 80 per cent. Just before the liberation, money has completely stopped to be legal tender. This practice led us to do away with the use of money up to now.

What will be the situation in the future?

That would only depend on our people. If the people judge it is necessary to go back and use money, we shall do so. But up to now, our people have not yet seen the necessity of going back to the use of money.

INTERVIEW WITH JAN MYRDAL OF THE DELEGATION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SWEDEN-KAMPUCHEA FRIENDSHIP AND FOR SWEDISH TELEVISION (24 August 1978)

From Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Kampuchea, 1978.

Question: Your Excellency, what do you consider to be the matin achievements during the three and a half years of Democratic Kampuchea?

Pol Pot: During these past 3 years and a half, the prominent result achieved by Democratic Kampuchea is that Democratic Kampuchea has put into pieces successively the schemes and activities of interferences, subversions, attempts at coups d'état and aggressions perpetrated by the enemies of all kinds, especially the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories. The monolithic union of the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea has successively crushed all attempts at coups d'état and large scale aggressions perpetrated since the end of 1977 by Vietnam which aimed at taking possession of Democratic Kampuchea at once, so that Kampuchea and her people would become Vietnamese. That is a grand victory of far-reaching and historic significance won by the people of Democratic Kampuchea in defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country, their national honour and dignity and their race.

Indeed, the Vietnamese are not only as much barbarous and cruel as the colonialists, neo-colonialists oy imperialists, but they are even thousand times more than the latter. In conformity with its strategy of "Indochina Federation" Vietnam wants to take possession of the territory and people of Kampuchea at once so that they become Vietnamese, that is to eliminate the race of Kampuchea.

The other prominent results are as follows:

In the economic and financial fields Democratic Kampuchea is independent and sovereign and can entirely supply herself. On one hand, Democratic Kampuchea has completely abolished the exploiting and oppressive economic and financial regime of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all exploiting classes. On the other hand, the Kampuchea's people have built up a new economy in full independence, sovereignty and self-reliance and totally solved the food problem. Everyone receives in average 312 kilograms of paddy per year and there is a surplus for exportation. Agriculture has now a strong foundation thanks to small, medium and big hydraulic projects that our people have achieved and are carrying out everywhere in the country in conformity with well-defined annual plans. In 1978, almost 700 000 hectares of lands have already been irrigated. A new agriculture was born and is in full development. The landscape of the new countryside is changing from year to year.

The cottage industry, industry, technics and sciences, having a people's mass characteristic, have begun to progressively take a new shape in conformity with the principle of being independent, sovereign and self reliant and in relying fundamentally on the people's forces.

The conditions of living of the people have also greatly changed in all fields. On one hand, the people have totally eliminated depravity, debauch, delation,[17] banditry, prostitution, starvation and toxicomania. A new and sound atmosphere has been created in conformity with the genuine traditions of the nation and people, without exploited and exploiting classes. On the other hand, the whole people have eaten their fill, clothes and housings. Everywhere, they profit by medical care and have at their disposal doctors and medical centers, especially in each cooperative. More than 90 per cent of the population know how to read and write. Illiteracy has been fundamentally eliminated. The whole people are developing their knowledges. We are perfectly aware of that we have to overcome all

[17] Editor’s Note: archaic, means “accusation, denunciation.”

kinds of obstacles, to carry on solving many other problems in order to defend and build up our country, and to improve the living conditions of the people. But we are also perfectly aware of that all the results achieved during these past three years and a half are important results of far-reaching significance in the history of our country, and which have never been achieved since many centuries.

Question: Your Excellency, your Government has been accused of genocide. What is your comment to these accusations?

Pol Pot: In all past epochs, at present as well as in the future, the enemies of the revolution oppose resolutely the revolution. The great leaders of the world revolutionary movement such as Lenin, and the great Revolution of October have also been assailed, slandered, disparaged, attacked and accused by the international enemies of the revolution, who have gone so far as to form a coalition in order to perpetrate barbarous acts of invasion and aggression. However, the revolutionaries and the peoples the world over, who form the overwhelming majority, are for the revolution. As for the revolution of Kampuchea, it has also been cruelly and barbarously slandered, disparaged, attacked, interfered and aggressed by all kinds of enemies of the revolution. But the revolutionaries and the progressists in the world, in general, have supported the Kampuchea's revolution and expressed their satisfaction and sympathy with it. The aggressors, expansionists, slaughterers of the peoples the world over, whose victims number several tens of thousands and millions, and who have massacred and are massacring the Kampuchea's people, these are the colonialists, neocolonialists, imperialists and international expansionists.

In deeds, the US imperialists and their lackeys have massacred more than 1400000 people of Kampuchea just during the past 5-year war (1970–1975). And the Vietnamese and their supporters are aggressing and annexing Democratic Kampuchea, aiming at exterminating at the same time the people and the race of Kampuchea.

Consequently, those who accuse Kampuchea, these are enemies of the revolution, the imperialists, expansionists, annexationists and international reactionaries, who are united in order to overthrow the Kampuchea's revolution and subjugate Democratic Kampuchea. And those who support and express their sympathy with the Kampuchea's people are the innumerable revolutionaries and peace- and justice-loving progressists throughout the world.

The people are the fundamental and determinant factor of the victory of the revolution. The Kampuchea's revolution has won over the US imperialists aggressors during the past five year war of aggression for the whole people have participated in the war and made the revolution. At present, Kampuchea can be sufficient in food and has crushed the interferences, subversions and aggressions of the enemies of all kinds, particularly the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories, for the whole people have participated in the struggle and made the revolution.

Question: Your Excellency, there is in fact war on the frontier between Democratic Kampuchea and Vietnam. What to the cause of this war and how does it affect Democratic Kampuchea?

Pol Pot: The cause of the present war between Kampuchea and Vietnam is as follows:

On one hand, in conformity with its strategy of "Indochina Federation," Vietnam wants to annex and swallow at once Kampuchea and the Kampuchea's people, to make them disappear and form then with Vietnam, only one Vietnamese country and people. Following this strategy, the Vietnamese have carried out all kinds of maneuvers, interferences and subversions, fomented successive coups d'état aiming at overthrowing by force the Kampuchea's revolution and Democratic Kampuchea, making Democratic Kampuchea their satellite and definitively disappear and transform her into an integrant part of Vietnam. Since they could not achieve their ambition through these maneuvers and activities, the Vietnamese and their master have then mobilized a great number of

their armed forces, up to 14 divisions, to launch attacks of invasion against Kampuchea at the end of 1977 aiming at destroying and swallowing her at one go, following their strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory."

But the heroic Kampuchea's people, endowed with an ardent patriotism and rich in traditions of struggle to win the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country, who have inflicted on the US imperialists aggressors the heavy and ignominious defeat of April 17, 1975, in any case, whether during this present generation or the generations to come, will never allow the Vietnamese to aggress, annex and swallow the Kampuchea's territory. The people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have counter-attacked the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, inflicted on them ignominious defeats, totally crushed their strategy of aggression "lightning attack, lightning victory," and driven them into a strategy of protracted struggle in which they are splashing hopelessly.

Therefore, on one hand, the present war between Kampuchea and Vietnam is a war provoked by the Vietnamese who have aggressed and tried to annex and swallow the Kampuchea's territory, aiming at destroying the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. On the other hand, the Kampuchea's people have struggled to defend and hold aloft the banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories. By their aggression, the Vietnamese have indeed caused some difficulties to the Kampuchea's people, But the favorable aspect for Kampuchea is that she has succeeded in defending her territory and defeating the Vietnamese. The Kampuchea's people have further discerned the nature of the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories and the peoples the world over have been further aware of the face of the Vietnamese aggressors and annexationists. All these facts have proved that the Vietnamese have faced numerous and great difficulties in all fields, military, political, economical, social, diplomatic, both at home and abroad.

Question: Your Excellency, what are, according to your Government, the pre-conditions for a peaceful settlement of this conflict?

Pol Pot: Democratic Kampuchea does not impose any condition at all in order to solve this conflict. It is Vietnam, aggressor, annexationist and swallower of territories, behaving Like Hitler, that has imposed conditions to Democratic Kampuchea. Hitler had threatened and aggressed the countries of East Europe and exerted pressure so that they entered into negotiations with him, accepted to comply with him and let him take possession of their territories. Vietnam has acted in the same manner. It has openly aggressed Kampuchea in the barbarous, cruel and fascist way and after it has said that "Democratic Kampuchea has to negotiate with Vietnam." These are conditions. On one hand, Vietnam wants to force Kampuchea to kneel down and accept to be subjugated by it, and on the other hand, Vietnam wants to mislead the public world opinion on its true nature of aggressor, annexationist and swallower of territories.

Democratic Kampuchea and her people think that if Vietnam immediately stops its aggression against them, then the war would automatically cease. If Vietnam really respects the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea through concrete acts and in conformity with the principles of non-alignment, Pancha Sila, United Nations Charter, then, the friendship between the two countries and peoples, Kampuchea and Vietnam, would be automatically established, surely developed and strengthened.

In June 1975, during the visit of the high ranking delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in Hanoi, the Kampuchea's side has officially proposed to the Vietnamese side to conclude a friendship and non aggression treaty between Kampuchea and Vietnam. But the Vietnamese side did not respond to this goodwill of Kampuchea. In spite of this, if now Vietnam cease, its aggression against Kampuchea and accepts to really respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea through concrete acts, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea would propose once again to conclude a friendship and non aggression treaty with

Vietnam. The top leaders of Kampuchea would then put their signatures on this treaty either in Phnom Penh or in Hanoi, if Vietnam has shown that it really wants to have friendship with the Kampuchea's people.

Question: Your Excellency, given the possibility of peaceful construction how do you think Kampuchea will look at the turn of the century? What kind of society would Kampuchea then have become in twenty years time?

Pol Pot: The Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in May 1975 and the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in January 1976 have defined a strategic plan of building up the country, that is to transform Kampuchea from a backward agricultural country into a country with a modern agriculture within 10 to 15 years and from an industrially underdeveloped country into a country with all basic industries within 15 to 20 years (from 1977).

We have all necessary conditions to achieve the objectives of this plan by abiding by the position of independence and sovereignty and thanks to the correct line of the Party, to our dynamic, industrious and creative people, to the collectivist socialist society of Kampuchea, to the important natural agricultural wealth and other natural resources, on the ground, underground and in the sea. The experiences of the revolutionary movement in building up the country during these more than 3 years have also clearly shown the possibilities of achieving our strategic plan for national construction. We would like to build up our country in favorable conditions and in peace. We do our utmost to create these favorable conditions and peace. But the enemies of all kinds, particularly the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories and their supporters have made so that we cannot have peace. They have mobilized their efforts to carry on their aggression and attempts at annexing and swallowing our territory. Our position is to have a peace in full independence and sovereignty and not a peace in slavery, in

losing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Our people will do their utmost to build up their country in conformity with this strategic plan in all circumstances and eventualities whatever.

INTERVIEW WITH THE TURKISH MAGAZINE *AYDINLIK*
(14 September 1978)

From *BannedThought* with a typewritten copy.

Our people are overjoyed by your visit and encouraged by it. You have visited various parts of our country. You have gathered information about the situation in Democratic Kampuchea. Our people are trying to solve their problems, to rebuild our country and to improve their standard of living. Since our liberation on April 17, 1975 our people have mobilized all their forces in order to defend our country and build our economy. We have to do so in order to provide sufficient food and to safeguard our independence and sovereignty. To build our country, we have mobilized our whole people, as well as the armed forces. But external enemies have not allowed us to improve our people's standard of living, to live in peace and to build up our country. In particular the Vietnamese aggressors have made many attempts to capture Kampuchea since our liberation. They do not want Kampuchea to be independent and to become master of its destiny.

They want to capture Kampuchea and turn it into a part of Vietnam. Formerly there was the strategy of the Indo-China Federation. Through this Indo-China Federation they want to annex Kampuchea and turn it into a part of Vietnam. Today, although the Vietnamese don't use the word Indo China Federation, in essence their sole wish is to take hold of Kampuchea. They want to capture Kampuchea, to become masters of Kampuchea and later extend their expansion towards the south. That is the strategy of Vietnam and also that of the Soviet expansionists.

So both Vietnam and the Soviets are uniting against Kampuchea and attacking it. Together they want to extend their expansion in South East Asia.

They launched a large-scale attack against us at the end of 1977, using 14 divisions. This was a plan devised by the Vietnamese, and it included the Soviets and their followers.

Now let me tell you about the attack launched by the Vietnamese on our border with Vietnam. After liberation the Vietnamese launched and attack to capture our island Koh Way. And they kept launching attacks along the border, in an attempt to intimidate our people into submitting to their will and to force us to join the Indo-China Federation with them.

They kept on launching these acts of aggression from 1975 to 1977, but they never succeeded.

So at the end of 1977, they used large-scale forces to launch an attack against us. They wanted to carry out the strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory." They carried out this strategy in order to prevent the people from opposing them, and also to prevent opposition from world opinion. If they succeeded in laying their hands on Democratic Kampuchea, there would be nothing that world opinion could do.

Relying on their forces, they launched a large attack against us in the south of this region (Kompong Cham and Svay Rieng). That was their main attack. And in this part of the country there is a secondary front, as well as one to the north of the Mekong.

They launched these large-scale attacks in this region in order to capture our Eastern Zone. This is a strategic zone for the Vietnamese as well as for us, because Saigon is locked in it. So if the Vietnamese had succeeded in capturing this region, they could have threatened Phnom Penh, the capital. And afterwards they could have captured the northeastern region and the north of the country, in order to take the whole of Kampuchea. But they have been defeated.

Their strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory" has been defeated. Now they are trying the strategy of protracted attacks.

The first was a strategic defeat for the Vietnamese. If they have been defeated in their strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory" they will also be defeated in their protracted attacks.

Now the Vietnamese are in a very difficult situation, especially on the military front. They are being successful in building up their armaments. Their people are against the recruitment policy. Their economy and finances are also in a very difficult situation.

Inside the country there is still a sense of insecurity everywhere. And they are in a difficult situation on the international plane as well. They have been unmasked in the international arena. And now they are in conflict with China, and this makes it even more difficult for them. All the Southeast Asian peoples and the peoples of the whole world are becoming increasingly conscious of their aggressive policy against Kampuchea. And world opinion has seen that Vietnam is a lackey of the expansionist Soviets and is carrying out the Soviet policy of expansion in Southeast Asia.

As you know very well, Cuba, acting under the orders of the Soviet Union, has played the role of an expansionist and aggressor in Africa. The Soviets likewise use Vietnam as their vanguard force to carry out their expansionist policy in Southeast Asia.

So the Soviet Union and Vietnam thought it would be very easy for them to capture Kampuchea. But they have not been able to achieve their aims. We are determined to defend our territory to the end. We dared to make every sacrifice in our struggle against US imperialism, until we achieved liberation. So we cannot agree to be enslaved by the Vietnamese. If the Vietnamese had been alone they could not have attempted to capture Kampuchea, because we know how to fight as well. And the Vietnamese cannot fight against us at their will. They despise us. They thought they could attack Kampuchea at once and swiftly capture it. But we succeeded in repelling the attack.

Question: Prime Minister Pol Pot stated just now that Vietnam would not have dared to attack them if it had been alone. Taken from this point of view, which is the more dangerous enemy of the Kampuchean people, Vietnam or the Soviet Union? Could you shed further light on this question?

Pol Pot: Vietnam's aim is to capture Kampuchea. Taking Kampuchea would make Vietnam a big power in the Indochinese peninsula. And after that, they would extend their expansion to Southeast Asia. As for the Soviets, they don't want to capture Kampuchea themselves.

So they order Vietnam to do it for them. After Vietnam has captured Kampuchea, the Soviet Union can take over the whole of Southeast Asia. And after taking the whole of Southeast Asia, the Soviets can launch an attack on either the north or the south. And they can exercise control over the strategic strait of Malakka. Many countries have political, economic and military interests in the strait of Malakka: it is a very important strategic point, and also a strategic target of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam attacked the Asian countries in 1975, 1976 and at the beginning of 1977. For at that time, they envisaged getting hold of Southeast Asia and carrying out expansion in this region. But as they had no success in their attack against Kampuchea they were unable to go ahead towards Southeast Asia. This is why they have now changed their attitude and say that they would like to have good relations with the Southeast Asian countries. They have changed their behaviour. But if they had succeeded in capturing Kampuchea, surely they would not have changed. Indeed, if they had succeeded, I don't know what would have become of Southeast Asia.

Now since they have not succeeded in capturing Kampuchea, they want to have better relations with the Asian countries. And what is the purpose of their present move? It is to surround Kampuchea from the rear. In fact they do not want to improve their relations with Kampuchea. They are still continuing their aggression against Kampuchea. But they are pretending to develop better relations with the Asian countries, in order to isolate Kampuchea, to attack it from the rear and to succeed in their attacks against Democratic Kampuchea. And when they succeed in capturing Kampuchea they will continue their expansion over Southeast Asia.

The countries and the peoples of Southeast Asia have seen through these maneuvers. They understand Democratic Kampuchea's desire for independence. Independent Kampuchea is an obstacle to this expansionism and is defending Southeast Asia against it.

If Kampuchea's luck had turned and she had become a slave of the Vietnamese, surely the Vietnamese would have reached the

borders of Southeast Asia. The countries and peoples of Southeast Asia do not wand such a thing to happen, because when Vietnam gets close to them, it will launch attacks against them. This is how the present situation stands.

Kampuchea's position is closely linked to that of Southeast Asia, and also closely linked with the strategy of the Soviet Union. This is why the Soviet Union continues to give aid to the Vietnamese. They cuddle Vietnam like a baby in the arms of their economic alliance. For the Comecon is in fact the Soviet economic alliance. And the Soviet Union gives more and more economic and financial aid to Vietnam, as well as more and more military aid. They send Vietnam, military and civilian advisors as well as armaments.

Question: During our visit to Kampuchea we were also informed on the Vietnamese attacks and heard that during these attacks some Soviet military had been captured or killed. Is this true?

Pol Pot: In December 1977, when the Vietnamese attacked us with 14 divisions they used large quantities of heavy artillery and many tanks. Among them there were many Soviet tanks. And the commanders of the heavy artillery included Soviet commanders; so did the commanders of the tanks. Soviet commanders were giving orders from Vietnamese territory. They were also giving orders from inside the tanks penetrating into our territory. There are proofs of this.

First, on the radio we listened to, we heard orders in the Russian language. There were Vietnamese speaking Russian, but also Soviet officers speaking Russian.

As a second proof, we destroyed a tank. And inside this tank we killed two Soviet soldiers. They were wearing white suits, like those of foundry workers. Those were suits made to ward off the heat.

We made this public on December 31, 1977. But we did not give their nationality, because we did not want to further complicate the situation. However, the Soviets paid no heed to our good will. They continued to despise us. This is why they continued to give aid to Vietnam and to launch attacks against us. Since then, the Soviets

nave not dared to penetrate into our territory. They are afraid that we might get some more proof to use against them. But they still continue to give aid to Vietnam in order to attack us.

So this Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea is part of a very complex situation. Vietnam wants to get hold of Kampuchea, and the Soviet Union also wants to get hold of Kampuchea in order to extend its expansion to Southeast Asia.

So how can Kampuchea solve this problem? The solution of this problem lies with Vietnam and the Soviets. We are safeguarding and defending our independence, but they do not accept this.

This is why, when we formerly held negotiations with Vietnam, they did not take this into consideration. We have held many negotiations with Vietnam. But Vietnam did not come to an agreement, because Kampuchea abided by her position of independence during the negotiations.

Question: If we are not mistaken, Secretary Pol Pot personally took part in nearly fifty negotiations.

Pol Pot: I did. Apart from myself, Comrade Noun Chea, Under Secretary of the Party, and Comrade Ieng Sary, as well as all the comrades from the Central Committee of the Party took part in the negotiations. We went to Hanoi in June 1975 just after our liberation. It was the first country we visited after liberation, and at a time when the Vietnamese had captured our island Koh Way. Never in the history of world diplomacy have so many leaders left the country at the same time. In Hanoi we had the Secretary, the Under Secretary, the Permanent Members of the Central Committee and all the members of the Central Committee. This was because we wanted to solve these problems with the Vietnamese. But the Vietnamese did not agree with us. Even on the border question which had been solved in 1966 and 1967, Vietnam refused to respect our rights. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had agreed at that time to respect our borders in 1966, and 1967. But after

liberation Vietnam refused to respect these borders. So the negotiations were not successful and none of the negotiations held afterwards came to a successful end. They launched an attack against us. But if we had agreed to be their slaves, this problem would have been rapidly solved. Since we refused, they continued to attack us. The Vietnamese, as well as the Soviets, refused to come to an agreement because it is a question of Kampuchea and also of Southeast Asia. In order to extend their expansion in Southeast Asia they have to do away with the obstacle of Kampuchea but we reckon that the situation in these last eight months has unmasked the aggressive face of Vietnam to the world.

The Soviet Union has a world strategy within which it has a special strategy for Southeast Asia. They will never abandon this strategy. So surely they are going to continue their acts of aggression against us. But as before, Kampuchea is determined to oppose them, and the peoples of Southeast Asia will oppose them as well. The present situation shows that the forces which stand against the forces of aggression of the Soviet Union and Vietnam have greatly increased, and shown their true nature more and more clearly.

We hold that the destiny of Kampuchea and that of Southeast Asia will not be determined by the Vietnamese and the Soviet Union: they are in the hands of the people of Kampuchea and the peoples of Southeast Asia.

US imperialism has already made this clear through its own example. They wanted to take the destiny of the Kampuchean people into their hands. And we fought against them until they were thrown out of Kampuchea. And the Kampuchean people have already gained experience in the national liberation struggle to liberate their own territory. If the enemy dares to address Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people will surely rise in struggle against them. If they continue their aggression, the Kampuchean people will continue to fight against them too. And the situation will become more and more complicated for them.

We have told you about the defence of our territory, because it is the most important problem and embraces all the other problems.

We are carrying out the socialist revolution, we are constructing socialism, defending our territory, improving the standard of living of our people in all fields, economic, cultural and educational. But we can do these only when Kampuchea is independent and sovereign. So we are trying to defend and safeguard our Kampuchea in order always to remain independent and sovereign. And in the defence of our territory there are countless difficult problems, because Kampuchea remains within the scope of the strategy of Vietnam and the strategy of the Soviet Union. It is under such conditions that we are defending our independence. So we have to make a great effort. If we do not or if our line is not correct, Kampuchea will become a dependent country.

Question: The Kampuchean people waged a five-year long national liberation war. And after this Kampuchea was subjected to attacks by Vietnam. What is the present state of the national economy and what are your plans for the future?

Pol Pot: Our economy in general is not at a high level compared with the economies of developing countries. Before liberation Kampuchea was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. It had a backward agriculture. The poor peasants and the middle poor peasants made up 75% of the whole population. They were very poor. Likewise the labouring people's standard of living was very low.

During the liberation war there was tremendous devastation, destruction and damage.

After liberation we had to strive through our own efforts to reconstruct our economy, to reconstruct our country and to improve the standard of living of our people. We had to mobilise large forces in order to solve the problem of rice production. We have fundamentally solved this problem. In 1976 the rice output was enough to feed the population and also allowed for some exports. In 1977 the rice output again sufficed to feed the population and it was also possible to make some more exports. And the poor peasants,

middle poor peasants and all the labourers who did not have enough to eat before liberation, now have enough to feed themselves.

For many centuries this food problem was not solved. The feudalists, the landowners and the capitalists could not solve this problem. Neither could colonialism, neo colonialism, or foreign aid. But we have solved the problem. This problem having been solved, the people and all the strata of the people in the countryside and throughout the country are very satisfied with this regime and this has strengthened the forces of the people. With such forces we can build up our country on strong foundations and this also enables us to have stronger forces for defending our country. Now we are continuing to develop agriculture. We are continuing to develop rice production, as well as industrial crops. Our industry relies on agriculture. We export agricultural products and we import industrial goods; in the meantime we are buying industrial equipment to set up factories. But the industrial crops are used as primary commodities for our factories. Meanwhile we are striving to construct various essential factories. We have built factories for the construction industry, chemical plants, steel plants and factories for machine tools, energy plants, alcohol factories and foodstuff factories. We pay great attention to building basic factories, like cement factories, steel plants, oil refineries. These are the industries that make up an independent economy. We are now striving to build them. We are achieving this plan step by step. During the construction of these factories we also train technicians. They study and participate in production work at the same time.

Let me give you an example. Formerly one had to study for eleven or twelve years, to acquire general culture and to get a secondary school education. Now, children from twelve to fourteen years of age know how to read, write and count, and they also participate in production. On average they study general culture for two hours a day. They study for three years. They can get an education which is about the same as the one where they had to study for eleven to twelve years. They don't have a very high capability, but it is higher than the level of those who studied for nine years before liberation.

We have to train technicians in this way in order to have enough technicians rapidly.

As for technique, we train them according to the formerly used principles. We are developing education step by step, we are improving our knowledge step by step. In developing agriculture we are also training agricultural technicians. We have already trained many technicians in this field. They know how to combine rice seeds, and how to analyse the quality of the soil. They know how to use fertilizers, they know how to fight the diseases in the rice paddies. And they know how to construct water conservancy projects. You have already visited some water conservation projects. As you have seen they study and work at the same time. If we are to wait for them to complete their studies and then to participate in production, we would have to wait sixteen years. Since they study and participate in production at the same time, we train our technicians thus. The reactionaries in the world say that we certainly cannot train our own technicians. But in fact, all techniques and know-how stem from the productive labour of the people. In other countries those who study and participate in production at the same time are a minority. They have very few technicians. But now in our country the majority study and participate in production at the same time. Thus we can train many technicians. This is in accordance with the mass line of our Party. And by carrying out this line we can surely create our technicians and they can surely acquire knowledge, technical knowledge. We train our technicians according to this line. This is our line and it is applied in all fields. Surely, among them there will be people who are very good with chemicals, with electricity, or with foundry work, with machine tools or engines. This is how we train our technicians. Carrying out this line we have already succeeded in forming a technician force and we have to continue carrying out this line. This is all I want to say.

Question: Would Prime Minister Pol Pot also give us some information concerning the plans for economic construction? What are the planned targets?

Pol Pot: We have an economic plan. Just after liberation our Central Committee discussed the plan. We had liberated the country in April 1975. in January 1976 our Central Committee held a Congress during which the economic plan was discussed. We started implementing this plan in April 1976. According to this plan we must transform Kampuchea from a backward agricultural country, into a modern agricultural country within ten or fifteen years, beginning from 1977. We have to strive hard to achieve this plan, because it is a very short tine. The ruling classes did not solve this food problem for hundreds of years. As for us, we have an economic plan to construct a modern country in fifteen years. Also, another aim of this plan is to transform Kampuchea from a backward agricultural country into a country with basic industries, within fifteen to twenty years. For agriculture and industry we began to take the first steps in 1976. We are propagating this pian among our people and our armed forces. We have to succeed in fulfilling this plan, otherwise the Central Committee will be responsible. The whole people, the whole army and the whole Party would say that the Central Committee is not even capable of fulfilling this plan. Therefore, we are doing our utmost to fulfil this plan. The aim of the propaganda among the people and the army is to inform them of this plan and to make the people and the army participate in the achievement of this plan; it is also aimed at enabling the people to see whether the Central Committee will realise what it has promised, whether it can succeed in fulfilling this plan or not. So this is a plan that belongs to the whole people. It has been officially announced and propagated to the whole people.

In line with this, we at the same time have another four-year plan, from 1977 to 1980. This is a plan for agriculture, industry, communications culture and education, and for social affairs and health. Beginning from 1977 we have made great efforts to fulfil this plan. We are doing our utmost in all fields to fulfil it.

Question: What is the reason for abolishing the use of money? How do you evaluate your three-and-a-half year experience and its results?

Pol Pot: We have had good results with this experiment. The people have no problem in not using money. We have solved the economic problem by not using money. As for the political aspect, people have no difficulty with this complicated problem of money. This aims to put an end to a part of the superstructure embedded in the minds of the people. Money is only a means of conducting economic transactions. Money is not an economic or a political end in itself. It's like a bridge. But we can solve the problem of the living conditions of the people without this bridge. I see this as a way of doing away with a part of state power. Those things that are unnecessary and unimportant for us, we can do away with.

We are Marxists. Lenin has educated and trained us about the state and how to destroy the state. Marxist-Leninists should look for ways to take over the state power and to eliminate the state. Money is a part of the state. Therefore we have done away with it. And in the future if we have to do away with anything else, we will. And we have to do away with things if the people are satisfied with this in practice and if through this we can improve the standard of living of the people. Some people have said that we are making our revolution in a stupid way. But in fact we are doing as Lenin teaches us, as Marx, Engels and Lenin have taught us.

INTERVIEW WITH HONG KONG NEWSPAPERS WEN WEI PO AND TA KUN PAO (21 September 1978)

From Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1978.

Question: Respected His Excellency Prime Minister Pol Pot, since the end of 1977 the world mass media have often mentioned the war at the Kampuchea-Vietnam border. The world opinion is concerned by this event. Why has the war broken out? What is the concrete situation?

Pol Pot: During your visit to Democratic Kampuchea, you have been aware of that our people are struggling in order to increase production and improve their standard of living. You have been to the front and you have been the eyewitnesses of our people's struggle in order to defend their sacred, territory against Vietnam, aggressor, annexationist, swallower of territories. So, you are aware of the present situation which prevails in Democratic Kampuchea.

I take this opportunity of our meeting today to give you some complementary information about the situation in Democratic Kampuchea.

We have waged successive revolutionary struggles in order to liberate our nation and people from slavery and to live in independence in our territory. Therefore, we have stipulated in our Constitution that Kampuchea is independent, sovereign, neutral, peaceful and non-aligned so that our people could live in peace and devote themselves, to the construction of the country in full independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, immediately after liberation, we have undertaken to rebuild economy, construct the country and solve the food problem by abiding by the position of independences sovereignty and self-reliance.

Besides, we have paid visits to neighbouring countries in order to establish friendly relations with them. So, in June 1975, a

high ranking delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea went to Hanoi. In October 1975 we went to Laos and to Thailand. All this in order to have friendship relations and peacefully coexist with the neighbouring countries.

But we have encountered obstacles due to the hostility of a neighbouring country which has rejected the Democratic Kampuchea's goodwill. This country has obstinately aggressed Democratic Kampuchea. It is Vietnam which has since a long time the strategy of taking possession of Kampuchea and integrating her into Vietnam through its policy of "Indochina Federation."

Immediately after Kampuchea's liberation, Vietnam aggressed and occupied the Kampuchea's Koh Way Islands. It has unceasingly carried out provocations along the land border in order to attempt to bring us to terms.

But we have not submitted for we want to be independent. Therefore, being mad of rage, Vietnam has launched largescale, attacks against us at the end of 1977. The Vietnamese aggressors, the Soviet expansionists and their followers have formed a coalition to attack us. They wanted to take possession of Kampuchea at one go according to their strategy "lightning attack, lightning victory." They thought that if this strategy succeeded, they would solve all military and political problems, at home as well as abroad, and they would grasp the Kampuchea's people.

They have united because on one hand, for a long time, the Vietnamese have wanted to take possession of Kampuchea and integrate her into their territory according to their policy "only one country, one people, under the leadership of only one party." On the other hand Vietnam wants to be a big power in "Indochina" and then carry on its expansion over Southeast Asia.

As for the Soviet expansionists, they have their global strategy which also includes the control of Southeast Asia. At this end, they have to solve the problem of Kampuchea which is the main obstacle for the Vietnamese and for themselves.

Thus, they united to attack Kampuchea. They planned to take possession of Kampuchea at one go. At this end, they launched

important forces composed of 14 divisions, including 5 shock divisions. They used a great number of armoured cars, including Soviet armoured cars, and a great number of heavy artillery pieces. But we have immediately smashed these attacks.

In Eastern region, they entered 30 kilometers deep into our territory. Along the road n°7, they went into up to East of Suong-city. In the Southwestern region, they penetrated along the road n°2 from Phnom Den to Takeo up to about 25 kilometers far from the border. We stopped their advance. We cut their forces into many pieces and then, we annihilated them one by one. In some places, we annihilated entire regiments. Being cut into pieces, their forces could not resist and were routed on January 6, 1978. Soviet advisers and technicians have participated in these fightings in quality of commanders and armoured car drivers. Our Army killed two of them in an armoured car.

So, on January 6, 1978, we defeated the Vietnamese strategy of "Indochina Federation." We annihilated the Vietnamese strategy "Only one people, one country, one party." We held aloft the banner of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.

However, since February up to now, the Vietnamese have carried on their aggression. But their forces are less than one half of the 14 divisions they launched against us at the end of 1977 and since February, they have suffered heavy losses. At present, the Vietnamese face a lot of difficulties in all fields.

In the military field, they face great difficulties. Their forces which attack us along the border are less than 2 divisions. When we speak about divisions, we want to speak about divisions having their full effectives. Actually, the Vietnamese use many divisions which, exist in name only. As they lack effectives, they have used. planes. The use of planes means that their infantry has been crushed. From July to the beginning of this September, we have shot down 8 helicopters and fighter-bombers. Vietnam has just very few possibilities in using planes for it is not an industrial country: it is a backward, agricultural country. Its forces cannot play a strategic role.

The use of planes creates more political, economic and financial difficulties to it.

Our Army already faced the air bombing war of the US imperialists which lasted 200 days and 200 nights. The Vietnamese air forces do not represent one thousandth of the US air forces which attacked us in 1973.

Question: Now, how does the situation of the war [between] Kampuchea-Vietnam move? Can this war go on furthermore?

Pol Pot: Nowadays, the situation in Vietnam is moving very rapidly, at home as well as abroad, since it has aggressed Kampuchea.

Before its aggression against Kampuchea, the true face of Vietnam had not been known. It was thought that it was socialist and revolutionary. Now, everybody can see that Vietnam has aggressed Kampuchea. It is not revolutionary nor socialist, nor a non-aligned country. Vietnam belongs to an alliance: it is a member of the Soviet economic alliance, and adheres to the Soviet political bloc. It has established military bases in foreign country. During these 8 past months, that is since the beginning of its aggression against Kampuchea, Vietnam has been unmasked.

Furthermore, Vietnam faces extremely severe economic and financial difficulties. It is short of rice and food, and starvation is worsening.

In the political field, at home, Vietnam encounters difficulties. In many places, the Vietnamese people are uprising.

With all these difficulties, Vietnam has systematically provoked the People's Republic of China. By doing so, it has got into a more inextricable mess.

So, Vietnam is in a difficult situation, both at home and abroad, in the military and political fields as well as in the economic, financial and food fields. This situation is due to the fact that it has failed in taking possession of Kampuchea. If it had succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea, the situation would have been different and it would have been more pretentious and more arrogant.

Will Vietnam carry on its expansion to the South?

Do Vietnam and the Soviets threaten to carry on their expansion over Southeast Asia? This problem is clear. It is what they do. They are threatening in the same way as the fascists and the imperialists in the past, who took advantage of their brutal forces. If they succeeded in controlling Southeast Asia, what changes would then be in the world? They would use their ground and naval forces in order to carry on their expansion, control the Strait of Malacca and take possession of the economic wealth in Southeast Asia. The situation would be then very complicated!

Would they be able to extend their expansion and control Southeast Asia?

The problem is like this: If we do not fight against them, they will be able to take possession of Southeast Asia. But if we strongly fight against them, they will not be able to do so. We are convinced that the Southeast Asian countries and peoples as well as the world peoples will absolutely not allow the Vietnamese or the international expansionists to carry out expansionist maneuvers aiming at taking possession of other's territories. But if Southeast Asia cannot defend itself and big countries intervene and help it, then how large would be the scale of the war?

Today, I would like to underline, and you are perfectly aware of, the part of Democratic Kampuchea facing the attacks of Vietnam and the Soviet expansionism, that is to say her part in the national defence and her part towards the general situation in Southeast Asia.

In this case, does the world want Kampuchea to be independent, sovereign in her territorial integrity, or to be a Vietnamese puppet or a Vietnamese and Soviet base?

The Southeast Asian countries and many Asian countries have understood this problem and will furthermore, understand it. And in the world, more and more countries have understood this problem. But there are also countries which have not yet understood this problem. Among them, there are big countries which have strategic interests in using the Strait of Malacca and In Southeast Asia. It is the reason why they have not yet a correct political stand towards

Democratic Kampuchea and they are not yet aware of the part of Democratic Kampuchea facing the Vietnamese and international expansionists aggression. However, we think that they will progressively understand as the situation develops.

You know how to play chess. When the Vietnamese advance a pawn, they already foresee the second step they are going to play. Those who advance a pawn without foreseeing the next step are not able to know the second step of the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese carry on manoeuvres aiming at misleading the world public opinion by openly attacking Kampuchea. Their diplomatic manoeuvres against Kampuchea aim also at serving their strategy of aggression against Kampuchea. And to attack Kampuchea, is a part of their strategy of aggression against Southeast Asia. We want to tell you what would be the situation in Southeast Asia if the Vietnamese and the Soviet expansionists succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea.

The Vietnamese carry out diplomatic activities in Southeast Asia aiming at serving this strategy. They strive to remedy their situation of defeat at the Kampuchea's front to gain time in order to isolate Kampuchea and prepare their forces for new attacks against Kampuchea. When Kampuchea is overthrown, they would continue to aggress other countries in Southeast Asia. But we consider that the Vietnamese will not succeed.

Vietnam and its followers will not be able to take possession of Kampuchea. We would like to state that if they continue to aggress us. they must be ready to wage the war during 100 years and even after 100 years, they will not be able to take possession of Kampuchea. On the contrary, they will only fall to ruin.

I say this not because I am angry and in a view of mind. We rely on our forces.

Firstly, we have the Communist Party of Kampuchea, whose leadership is firm.

Secondly, the people are on our side. Our people are united with the Party. They are satisfied with the collectivist regime from which they enjoy all the benefits, especially the labourers who constitute more than 90 per cent of the whole people. The remaining 10 per cent are also with the revolution, they take part in it and are patriotic. Nobody wants that Vietnam swallows Kampuchea.

Thirdly, we have the valiant Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.

Fourthly, in the economic field, we can provide our own needs. During the 5-year war against the US imperialists when the situation was: difficult and complicated, we could supply our own needs and even give aids to Vietnam. So, at present, we have all conditions to fully provide our own needs in food.

Fifthly, we have a sound collectivist socialist regime laying on ever more solid basis.

As for Vietnam, its party is not a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, it is a thoroughly revisionist party which has betrayed the revolution, its regime is not a genuine socialist regime: it is a disguised socialist regime which oppresses the people. The poor people remain exploited. The Vietnamese State power is politically and economically corrupt and it oppresses and exploits the people. Then, the people do not support it. On the contrary, they oppose it. The Vietnamese army is not a real revolutionary army: it is a corrupt army which exploits and oppresses the people. The people do not support it. Therefore, it cannot enlist soldiers according to its objectives.

The economic and financial situation of Vietnam is really critical. Starvation has increased. This bad situation will go on worsening if Vietnam obstinately carries on its aggression against Kampuchea.

On the international arena, Vietnam is unmasked as the Kampuchea's aggressor, as an expansionist, a mercenary in the pay of the Soviet expansionists, a country belonging to the Soviet bloc. So, it is more and more spurned by the peoples the world over who are clearly aware of that Vietnam aggresses Kampuchea and that Kampuchea defends her independence against the Vietnamese aggressor.

These are the reasons why we are convinced that we can successfully defend our country by ourselves. By defending our independence, we receive sympathy, support and encouragement from more and more friends in the world.

Question: Recently, the world mass media have made remarks about some problems in Kampuchea. What is the opinion of Kampuchea's government.

Answer: The Imperialists and international expansionists carry out propagandas in the world that Democratic Kampuchea State is contested by the people, there is insecurity everywhere in Kampuchea, the human rights are violated and the Democratic Kampuchea's Government has only a few members.

Any man in his senses can judge it.

Firstly, who opposes Kampuchea's revolution and Democratic Kampuchea? They are the imperialists, the reactionaries and the international expansionists who are in a rage because Democratic Kampuchea is independent and sovereign, they have lost all their military, political, economic and social interests and cannot interfere in the Democratic Kampuchea's internal affairs anymore. It is normal!

Secondly, you have gone and visited many provinces. Did you feel in insecurity? Did you see uprisings? You can give evidences.

Thirdly, you surely agree with us. Without the participation of its people, the Kampuchea's revolution would not have won. There would not have been April 17, 1975. Today, the Kampuchea's revolution has successfully defended the country and supplies its own

needs in food in full independence, sovereignty and in relying on its own forces. If the whole people had not participated in the revolution, we would not have been able to successfully defend or build up the country and to supply our own needs, Vietnam would have taken possession of Kampuchea, there would have been starvation and Kampuchea would have been forced to beg for aids everywhere.

On one hand, the whole people are for the revolution. On the other hand, they are composed of two categories:

> (1) the labourer people representing 90 per cent of the whole population, are satisfied with the collectivist regime which ensures them all their needs. In the past, they had nothing to eat, they were forced to sell their sons, daughters, wives or husbands and their conditions of living were miserable. Now, they eat their fill and defend themselves this collectivist regime.
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> (2) as for the remaining 10 per cent, their conditions of living are a little lower than in the past. However, they eat their fill and like everybody, they are provided with housings, clothes, and medical care.

The whole people have seen that this society is just, it is a society everybody has wished to have for a long time. In the past everybody wanted to enjoy democratic freedoms.

These democratic freedoms were mentioned in the books, but in fact they exclusively belonged to the exploiting classes, who, under these freedoms, plundered and exploited the people in the military, political and economic fields and in the social and cultural fields. The 90 per cent of the people had nothing but the right to be exploited and oppressed.

Now they perfectly understand what are democratic freedoms and social justice for they are the masters of the means of production, lands, animals and factories. They all have the right to study and the

right to decide by themselves the destiny of the country. Thus, these democratic freedoms are genuine democratic freedoms.

That is the situation of the forces of our people.

So, by carrying on slanderous propagandas against Democratic Kampuchea, the enemy have taken their wishes for the realities. Actually, the Kampuchea's people stand on the side of the revolution and defend their collectivist regime.

LET US FIRMLY HOLD ALOFT THE BANNER OF THE VICTORY OF THE GLORIOUS COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA IN ORDER TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA, CARRY ON SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND BUILD UP SOCIALISM (27 September 1978)

From Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information Ministry of Foreign Affairs Democratic Kampuchea, 1978.

Dear Comrades,

First of all, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like to bow before the memory of all our dear compatriots, cadres, men and women fighters who have consented the sacrifice of their lives during our struggle for people's and national liberation and our present struggle for defending Democratic Kampuchea.

We have to respect the memory of all our heroes and heroines and remember forever, from generation to generation, their illustre example in our memory.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like also to extend my most profound congratulations to the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who are at present fighting in order to defend Democratic Kampuchea and the worker-peasant revolutionary power and inflicted on the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories, heaviest defeats.

I extend my warmest greetings to the collectivist worker and peasant classes and to, all comrades from different revolutionary organs and services who are struggling to build up and defend our beloved Kampuchea.

During this meeting organized to celebrate the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like to talk about the two following subjects:

(1) What are our reflexions on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea?

(2) The present situation of Kampuchea's revolution.

What are Our Reflexions on the Occasion of the 18th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea?

Our Party is now 18 years old. What works has it achieved? What experiences has it acquired? What are its tasks to come? We have to examine the circumstances in which our Party was born and has grown up. Such examination will allow us to learn from these past experiences in order to build up and make our Party more powerful in the future.

Our Party was born and has grown up in successive, tortuous and complex revolutionary movements, passing from one form of struggle to another one: political struggle, armed struggle combined with political struggle, war for people's and national liberation against the US imperialists until it has taken power over the whole country, and at present, socialist revolution, construction of socialism and national defence.

Following the experiences acquired by our Party, the key factor of the victory is to have a leading party. The victory is possible only when the party is correctly and powerfully built up. It is so and it will have to be always so; If we think that the Party is already built up and that is not necessary to continue to build it up, then we will ineluctably meet with failure.

Our Party has won victory. It has still to move forward, by constantly and firmly keeping its revolutionary nature, in conformity with the genuine nature of the working class. It is only by this way that it will always be able to serve and lead our people and to ensure the perenniality of Kampuchea's race.

That is why we have to always pay all our attention to the building up of our Party.

The building up of the Party has to cover three fields:

1 Building up the Party in the Political Field

The Party must have a correct political line corresponding to each stage of the revolutionary movement to ensure its leadership and achieve the victory. But if after having achieved the victory, the Party does not continue to elaborate a correct line, it will meet with failure. We would be mistaken if we have subjectively asserted that our Party is already strong, for it has defeated the US imperialist aggressors and the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories, and the international expansionists, and that it is thus not necessary to carry on the political building up of the Party. On the contrary, we have to attach even greater importance in carrying on the political building up of the Party in order to achieve new successive victories.

2 Building the Party in the Ideological Field

After having established a correct political line, we would still have to have a correct, powerful and militant ideology to win the victory. That is why our Party has defined that it has to arm itself with a vanguard position, that is to have a firm determination and great valiance in conformity with the proletarian nature of the Party. The Party has to be vanguard everywhere, at the front, in the rear, in the revolutionary services and organs. It is by building it up in this way that the Party will be able to powerfully lead the movement and that it will be able to keep the initiative of the struggle in all circumstances, whether favourable or difficult.

3 Building up the Party in the Organizational Field

In order to win the victory, we have to have a correct organizational line. Since its founding, our Party has always had good, medium and weak elements.

But the number of good elements is preponderant. Through the successive movements, there have been defections, but their number was small. The majority has unceasingly developed and improved.

In our present revolutionary movement, it is still so. There are good, medium and weak elements.

In the base organizations, where the Party's committee is strong, the tasks of national defence and construction and of improving the people's living conditions are powerfully and successfully carried out. However, where the Party's committee is weak, the tasks of national defence and construction and of improving the people's living conditions do not achieve any good results. It is the same in the revolutionary services and organs and in the Army.

Therefore, where the cadres are weak, we have to proceed to the reorganization, train the cadres and develop their qualities. And where there are good cadres, we have still to train them and further strengthen their qualities so that they lead even more powerfully the movement.

On which base does our Party has to rely on in order to train cadres?

The Party trains cadres mainly in the revolutionary mass movement. It is through the test of successive revolutionary movements that the Party's cadres temper and educate themselves in the political, ideological and organizational fields, and learn how to carry out well their work. It is only when the Party is strong that it can be master of the situation in all circumstances. If the Party is weak, it will be dominated and overflown by the situation and will not be able then to lead the revolutionary movement.

1968, 1970, 1973, have all been turning points marked by complex situations and have demanded the existence of a Party capable to lead the revolutionary movement and bring about adequate solutions. Our Communist Party of Kampuchea has brought them in

full independence and sovereignty, and has victoriously overcome all kinds of storms.

From 1973 to 1975, our people have struggled against the US imperialists and their lackeys in the sole battle-field, which was then Kampuchea. The situation was complex both at home and abroad. On the international arena, both the US imperialists and the Vietnamese have mobilized the world opinion to force negotiate the cease-fire, following the objectives and maneuvers of Kissinger-Le Duc Tho. At home, we have had to fight at one and the same time imperialists, the Thieu clique, the Lon Nol clique and the Vietnamese who have carried out the most perfidious maneuvers to stab us in the back and take possession of our territory. If our Party had not found a solution for such a complex situation, we would have been all subjugated. Whether by the US imperialists or by the Vietnamese. But our Communist Party of Kampuchea has a line to lead the people to victoriously carry out the struggle at one and the same time against the US imperialists, the Thieu clique, the Lon Nol clique and the Vietnamese who wanted to swallow our territory. We have won all these glorious victories in full independence and sovereignty. To win at one and the same time four so cruel enemies, it is a unique exploit in the annals of Kampuchea and also a rare event in the world. This is a very glorious victory!

If we had let ourselves [be] deceive[d] by the maneuvers of the US imperialists and the Vietnamese and if we had ceased the fire, we would have suffered an immense defeat:

1.We would have been defeated by the US imperialists and their lackeys;

2. We would have been subjugated by the Vietnamese until the genocide of our race.

In the past, during the 5-year war for people's and national liberation against the US imperialists (1970–1975) in the most difficult conditions, we have always struggled by abiding by the position of

independence, sovereignty and self-reliance to a highest degree. Today, while the conditions are better than before, we cannot be but only more in- dependent and sovereign in our struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories.

Our Party has educated all of us that we have to temper in the revolutionary movements. We all have to fully participate in the revolutionary movements. It is only in this way that we can be aware of both favourable factors and difficulties and acquire many experiences. The revolutionary movement is always developing. In order to lead this movement, we have to control it, to be aware and master of it. Whether he is new or veteran in revolution, a cadre has to fully participate in the movement in order to grasp the contradictions, acquire experiences to correctly solve them. The more a cadre has gone through tests in the revolutionary movements, the more he has accumulated experiences.

Particularly, the comrades in charge of high responsibilities have to be well experienced in:

1.the military tasks to liberate the country and defend it;

2. the works of production.

We have to know how to wage the war in order to be able to defend the country. We have to know how to produce in order to be able to build up the country and improve the people's living conditions. These are the tasks of the Party as leading party.

In order to be able to defend the country and develop production, we have to know how:

1.to build up a powerful party in all fields, political, ideological and organizational;

2. to build, strengthen, develop and defend the mass revolutionary forces so that they will be always powerful.

The only way to achieve it is: Primo: to carry out the practice; Secundo: to draw experiences and to learn the lessons from these experiences. In practice, there is always a negative aspect and a positive one. After having discerned what is correct and what is wrong, we strike the balance of the experiences. By doing so, we can develop our knowledges.

The knowledge comes from practice. Practice is the source of knowledge. After each practice, we apply democratic centralism to strike the balance of the experiences and learn the lessons from those experiences. If everyone of us correctly applies this principle, one will be able to educate oneself rapidly and achieve excellent results. In brief, we have to build up the Party as follows:

1.to build it up correctly in all fields, political, ideological and organizational;

2. to build it up in successive revolutionary movements;

3. to carry out the practice and at the same time, to draw experiences and learn the lessons from these experiences.

There are the lessons we have drawn from the building up of our Party in the past. In the future, we have to always proceed this way. In order to become strong and efficient, each Party's level, each this way. It is by this way that we will be able to achieve victories. Thus, we can ensure our own education, build up the Party and we are sure to ever safeguard the integrity of our territory without loosing any inch of it. At the same time, we are sure to be able to build up our country (whose honour and dignity have been jeered and which has been exploited, oppressed and despised during many centuries) and transform it into a developed country having a modern agriculture and an industrial base, as a country enjoying a genuine independence in all fields, political, military, economical, cultural and social.

Therefore, our personal education and the building up of the Party are primordial tasks which constitute the decisive factor: of the

victory. The task of building up the Party does not fall on the sole Party's level, but on all of us, from the Central Committee to the basic cells. This task falls on the present generation as well as on the future ones.

These are our reflexions on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea.

The Present Situation of Kampuchea's Revolution

1 Situation of our National Defence

The National Defence is the priority problem, for if the National Defence is fully ensured, all other tasks can be successfully carried out. On the contrary, it would be impossible to fulfil all these tasks.

After the liberation of Kampuchea on April 17, 1975, the enemies from outside always wanted to take possession of Democratic Kampuchea and subjugate her. The US imperialists wanted to take possession of Kampuchea in order to subjugate her once again. The Vietnamese and their followers, the Soviet international expansionists, wanted also to take possession of Kampuchea and to subjugate her.

From 1975 to 1977, the US imperialist strategy aiming at retaking Kampuchea has predominated. But the US imperialists have failed. Their plans of attacks launched both from outside and inside have come to grief. We could say that from the middle of 1977, the US imperialists and their lackeys have no more possibility to retake Kampuchea, for their plans have suffered a fundamental and strategic defeat.

After this defeat, the strategy of Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists aiming at taking possession of Kampuchea has taken precedence and played a preponderant part. The Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists have united to attack Kampuchea, for they have the same objectives.

Vietnam has always dreamed of taking possession of Kampuchea since 1930, following its strategy of "Indochina

Federation" and its policy aiming at creating "only one country, one people under the leadership of one sole party" in an "Indochina" belonging to Vietnam. It wants to become the big power in "Indochina" and in Southeast Asia.

As for the Soviet international expansionists, they have a global strategy which includes also the control of Southeast Asia. In order to take possession of Southeast Asia. In order to take possession of Southeast Asia, they have to solve the problem of Kampuchea which constitutes the key obstacle for Vietnam as well as for them. If they succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea, they would continue their thrust in Southeast Asia to seize the economical wealth and control the strategical sea routes, such as the Strait of Malacca.

Therefore, the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists have united together to attack our country.

Immediately after the liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressed and took possession of our islands Koh Way. Along the ground borders, they have perpetrated unceasing attacks to intimidate us. But vainly. We have always firmly abided by the position of independence, sovereignty, and self-reliance and of being masters of our own destiny. That is why the Vietnamese have been in a tearing rage. At the end of 1977, together with the Soviet international expansionists and their followers, they have started to launch large-scale attacks against Kampuchea. They wanted to take possession of Kampuchea at one go following their strategy "lightning attack, lightning victory." The Vietnamese thought that the victory of this strategy "lightning attack, lightning victory" would solve all their problems, military, political, economical, financial, both at home and abroad.

That is why they have mobilized 14 divisions, including 5 crack divisions for shock attacks. They have used a great quantity of heavy artillery pieces and tanks, including a lot of Soviet tanks. Soviet advisers have also participated in the command of the operations in the battlefield.

But we have put them to rout on January 6, 1978. Thisdefeat of January 6, 1978 is the bitter defeat of the strategy "lightning attack,

lightning victory" of the Vietnamese and the Soviets. It is also the bitter strategic defeat of the Vietnamese plan of "Indochina Federation" and of the Vietnamese policy aiming at creating "only one country, one people, one party" in the Vietnamese "Indochina."

After this defeat, the Vietnamese have continued to aggress us. But the maximum effective of their enraged forces does not reach half of that at the end of 1977.

To be more precise, here is the importance of their forces enraged in their aggression against Kampuchea (by taking into account only the effective forces):

> February: 2+ divisions March: 3 to 4 divisions April: 5 to 6 divisions May: 5 to 6 divisions June: 3 to 4 divisions July: more than 3 divisions August: 3 divisions September: 2 divisions

Since February, we have continued to successively put numerous Vietnamese troops into pieces.

At present, the Vietnamese are facing numerous and severe difficulties in all fields. In the military field, they meet with enormous difficulties. They are short of effectiveness. The Vietnamese divisions attacking us along the borders are numerous only by names, but they do not have enough effectives. The fact they use planes shows that their infantry is weak. From July to the beginning of this September, we have shot down 8 fighter bombers and helicopters. And on September 27, we have just shot down another one. The Vietnamese aviation cannot play a strategic role. We have already experienced and defeated the air war of the US imperialists. The US imperialists had attacked us by air from 1970 to 1975, particularly from February to August 1973, during 200 days and 200 nights. In the great storm of this air war, they had engaged strategic and tactical planes of all kinds, including B 52, F 111, F 105, F 104. The Vietnamese air forces are not up to one-thousandth part of those of the US imperialists. Vietnam is a backward agricultural country. The resort to the aviation will

bring to it still greater difficulties, both in the political field and in the economic and financial fields.

In the economic and financial fields, the Vietnamese meet also with severe difficulties. Starvation has become more and more severe and is still getting worse in the days to come. This state of starvation is the proof of the incapability of the Vietnamese administration and the baleful result of its wrong and stupid economic line. This is due to their regime which is neither a revolutionary nor socialist regime. It is a regime of exploitation under which the poor people are always exploited and the people suffer starvation. Besides, in aggressing Kampuchea, Vietnam has further ruined itself.

In the political field, the Vietnamese meet with difficulties, both at home and abroad. At home, the people have unceasingly risen up. Abroad, Vietnam has met also with difficulties. Before, everybody believed that the Vietnamese were revolutionaries, that they were socialists. Now everybody has clearly seen their true nature: they are aggressors of Kampuchea. They are neither revolutionaries nor socialists. Vietnam is not a non-aligned country. It belongs to an alliance: it is member of the Soviet economic alliance and political alliance and consequently, it is automatically member of the Soviet military alliance. The Vietnamese have become mercenaries at the service of the Soviet strategy of aggression and expansion. Vietnam has also established military bases in foreign territory. Now that it has also carried out provocations against the People's Republic of China, its true nature has further clearly appeared and its difficulties become more inextricable.

Therefore, Vietnam has met with difficulties of all kinds in all fields, military, political, economical and financial, both at home and abroad. That is the disastrous consequence of the bitter defeat of its aggression against Kampuchea. If it persists in its aggression, its difficulties will become more and more inextricable.

Up to now, we have fully ensured, in full independence and sovereignty, the defence of our Kampuchea and our territorial integrity: Our strategical task is always to resolutely defend the

territory and the race of Kampuchea. We are convinced to succeed it, for:

1. We have the Communist Party of Kampuchea which ensures a firm and correct leadership.

2. We have a great people, more than 90 percent of them are poor and middle-poor peasants and other labourers closely united with the Party and satisfied with the collectivist regime from which they directly enjoy all the advantages. As for the other 10 percent, they like also revolution and participate in it. They are patriots. Not at any price, they do not want that the Vietnamese swallow Kampuchea.

3. We have a heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who have already defeated the US imperialists and their lackeys.

4. We have an economy allowing us to be self-sufficient.

5. We have a sound and stronger and stronger collectivist socialist regime.

All this has strengthened our conviction that we can successfully defend our territory in full independence and sovereignty. Besides, the independent and sovereign Kampuchea, while struggling to defend her independence against the acts of aggression and annexation perpetrated by the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists and firmly holding aloft the banner of independence, enjoy the support, sympathy and encouragement from more and more friends, near or far, the world over.

As for the countries in Asia and Southeast Asia, they have become more and more aware of the stake of the struggle waged by Democratic Kampuchea against the aggression of the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists. Indeed, we struggle to defend ourselves. But our struggle is also in relation with the general

situation in Southeast Asia, for the aggression of the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists against Kampuchea belongs to their strategy of aggression against Southeast Asia and their global strategy. More and more countries in Asia and Southeast Asia have become more and more aware of this. Other countries, big or small, the world over, have begun to discern more clearly the Vietnamese strategy and that of the Soviet international expansionists concerning Kampuchea and Southeast Asia. That is why some countries have condemned them, whether openly or implicitly. And more and more countries have asked: "Would the collusion with Vietnam or any moral, political; diplomatic as well as economical and financial aid to Vietnam not encourage the Vietnamese to take possession of Southeast Asia? Would it not be favourable for the Vietnamese and Soviet strategy in Asia? Would it not be an aid to the Soviet economic alliance called COMECON? And if the Vietnamese and Soviets succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea, what course would the situation in Asia take? And if the Vietnamese and Soviets succeeded in extending their expansion in Southeast Asia, what would be the situation in Asia and in the world?" That is why Vietnam meets with greater and greater difficulties in its diplomatic maneuvers against us. It has more and more unmasked itself and has been more and more isolated. Kampuchea has more and more friends and has been more and more strongly supported by a growing number of countries and peoples the world over.

In less than 10 months since the beginning of the Vietnamese open aggression against Kampuchea, the situation has radically changed. The peoples the world over have been more and more clearly aware of that; on one hand, Kampuchea is genuinely independent, peaceful, non-aligned, revolutionary and socialist. On the other hand, Vietnam has aggressed Kampuchea, provoked the war against Kampuchea and in the region of Southeast Asia and that Vietnam is a pawn of the Soviet international expansionists, a member of the Soviet political, economical and military alliance, which betrays the revolution and is a false socialist.

In brief, in their aggression against, Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have suffered bitter defeats of strategic significance, both at home and on the international arena.

In the future, will the Vietnamese still carry on their aggression against Kampuchea? They will carry it on. This is evident, for the Vietnamese themselves as well as the Soviets and their followers want to swallow Kampuchea and extend after their expansion in Southeast Asia. We can but see the Vietnamese strategy in regards to Kampuchea, "Indochina" and Southeast Asia, as well as the whole strategy and the Asian and Southeast Asian strategy of the Soviet international expansionists.

The Vietnamese and their followers go on attacking us and carrying out all kinds of military, political and diplomatic maneuvers against us.

We must never be subjective. We must always heighten our revolutionary vigilance facing the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories to defend and ensure the perenniality of Democratic Kampuchea, our people and our Kampuchea's race, so that they would not disappear as the Kampuchea Krom did in the past. We must always be masters of the situation and take in good time measures in all military, political, economic and diplomatic fields and in the food supplies.

Our subjective and objective conditions are much better now than they were at the end of 1977.

As for the Vietnamese, they are facing severe difficulties, subjectively and objectively, both at home and abroad, in the military, political, economic, financial and diplomatic fields. The more they persist in their aggression against Kampuchea, the heavier their defeats will be in every field.

On this occasion, the Kampuchea's people, through the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, would like to make the Vietnamese people be aware of that:

1.The power holders in Hanoi cannot and will not be able in any case to take possession of Kampuchea.

2. They will only further spray ruins and sufferings over Vietnam and the Vietnamese people after having already endured thirty years of war.

3. The power holders in Hanoi ought to learn the lessons of the history. They ought not to take themselves for Napoleon or Hitler or the US imperialists. In spite of their formidable mights, all these latter were defeated by the peoples. And this happened in the past! What to say about the present period which is a revolutionary one when everybody wants independence and to be master of his own destiny! Will the Vietnamese people be able to take themselves for Hitler?

4. In such a situation, the Vietnamese must immediately put an end to their aggression against Kampuchea.

Democratic Kampuchea and the peace-loving and generous people of Kampuchea stretch a friendly hand towards the Vietnamese people. If the power holders in Hanoi stop their aggression against Kampuchea, if they give up their strategy aiming at integrating Kampuchea into Vietnam according to the out-of-date scheme of "Indochina Federation," friendship will grow at once between the two countries and peoples. Democratic Kampuchea solemnly declares that she will sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Vietnam in Phnom Penh or in Hanoi or in any other place. By that time, our two countries and two peoples will live in a good neighbourhood, in peace and genuine friendship. That are the sacred aspirations of the Kampuchea's people and Democratic Kampuchea.

2 Situation of Our Socialist Revolution

Our socialist revolution has been carried out well successively strengthened and developed, for:

1. the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen throughout the country within our working class;

2. the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen throughout the country within our cooperatives;

3. the collectivist regime continues to develop and strengthen within our Revolutionary Army, our revolutionary organs and services;

4. the regime of the collectivists socialist property of means of production in our whole society continues to develop and strengthen; the other bases of our collectivist socialist regime continue to develop and strengthen,

5. more than 99 percent of our people take part in socialist revolution, support socialist revolution and resolutely defend their collectivist socialist regime.

Such are the fundamental factors of the victory of our socialist revolution during last year.

However, on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, we have to proceed to an examination of our socialist revolution to see if since liberation it has been correctly carried out or not. Indeed, the whole people, all of us, we have no doubt on this subject. But nevertheless, we have to examine this question in order to strengthen our position in assimilating the line of our Party.

The socialist revolution we have carried out since liberation is correct. The whole Party, the whole people, the whole army are fully aware of this. Without the collectivist socialist regime, it is clear that we could not successfully defend our country and that our national territory and our race would disappear. But our socialist revolution has laid solid collectivist foundations in the whole society of Kampuchea, so that the entire country has become an immense and

powerful backing base, ensuring the total success of our tasks for national defence, is full independence and sovereignty.

During its history, our country has progressively lost more or less important parts of its territory. Why? Because the regimes at that time were incapable of defending the country and the people's forces were not united enough. In return, our collectivist socialist regime has been able to totally defend and safeguard the national independence, territorial integrity, national honour and dignity and race of Kampuchea in full independence and sovereignty.

But we can ask as follows: despite the victories we have won up to now in our tasks for national defence, will we be always in a position to successfully ensure our national defence in the future, in five or ten years for example? Indeed, there are regimes, like that of Lon Nol, which have collapsed in 5 years. Our regime is completely different from that of Lon Nol, like between the sky and the earth. The people hate the Lon Nol regime and have fought to overthrow it. No matter how much dollars, weapons and materials of all kinds the US imperialists had poured on it, they could not save it from collapse.

As for the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchea's revolution, they have deep roots into the people of Kampuchea. Therefore, the enemies of all kinds, particularly the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories, will never succeed in overthrowing Democratic Kampuchea, no matter how obstinate they may be in launching their attacks.

In 1975, shortly after liberation, at the time when we had to face severe difficulties, they did not succeed in overthrowing our regime. In 1976, they did not succeed either. In 1977, they have mobilized very important forces to aggress us, but they have suffered new defeats. It will be the same in 5 years, 10 years, 50 years, 100 years. The Vietnamese will never succeed to destroy us unless we open the door to the return of the capitalist regime. It is very clear that if we let the capitalist regime be restored in our country, we will never be able to ensure the defence of our country. Our enemies, particularly the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists, will succeed in taking possession of Kampuchea In

this perspective, we will not only loose independence, national honour and dignity, but also the totality of our national territory and our race, as we have already lost Kampuchea Krom.

So, in the future, shall we always continue to more efficiently carry out the socialist revolution, develop, consolidate and improve our collectivist socialist regime everywhere, in the cooperatives, factories, worksites, revolutionary services and organs, in the political field as well as in the ideological and organizational ones, so that it can more deeply root into our collectivist worker-peasant people. Our collectivist-socialist will be then more powerful and better.

Another proof of our socialist revolution power is that it has aroused along a very powerful movement in national construction. Since liberation, in the agricultural field as well as in the industrial, cultural, social and welfare ones, by firmly abiding by the position of independence, sovereignty and by relying on our own forces.

The living conditions have been ensured for everyone. The standard of living of 90 percent of our people, including poor peasants, middle-poor peasants, middle peasants and other labourers, has risen up compared with what it was under the former regime and is fully ensured. Those 90 percent that form the fundamental strata of our people are the most satisfied with the socialist revolution and they resolutely defend it. Before, they were the most cruelly exploited and lived a most miserable life. Now, they are liberated and enjoy the fruits of the socialist revolution. They have to defend this regime for this support and make revolution. Consequently no force can overthrow this regime Before, the Ratankiri and Mondulkiri population had but known only humiliations and contempts. In the former society, they lived like beasts under an extremely cruel regime of exploitation. At present,. they have three meals daily, have desserts and sugar and have suitable clothes, like the whole population in the country. They have blankets, mosquito nets and suitable housings. The living conditions of the poor peasants and middle-poor peasants in the other remote regions of the country have also been improved in the same manner.

If so, is this regime good or not? Does social justice prevail or not? Who has the right to judge it? It is certainly not the imperialists, expansionists and the Vietnamese who have contracted a heavy blood debt towards our people, who have the right to judge it. Only the Kampuchea's people have the right to judge it. And the people have judged that this regime is a good and just one. That is why they support and defend it. If this regime was not good and just, it is certain that the finest speeches and propagandas would not satisfy the people.

As for those who had an easy life in the former society, their material living conditions have been approximatively reduced to the level of those of the whole people. They can live like everyone else. Besides, they take part in the revolution and are also patriots. They become better aware of that only a socialist system can allow the Kampuchea nation to live in genuine independence, in national honour and dignity. Furthermore, they have clearly seen that social justice and equality prevail, that there is no exploitation of man by man, there is neither rich nor poor. Everybody participates in the building up and the defence of the country, in the improvement of the living conditions. All that constitutes a guarantee for everyone to have better and better living conditions in the same rhythm with the development of the country.

They are more and more aware of that this regime is a regime of genuine democracy which they have wished for since a long time and that it guarantees the democratic rights of the overwhelming majority formed by the poor strata as well as the other social strata.

What are the foundations of democratic freedoms? In order that the people could benefit by democratic freedoms, they must have rice-fields, water for irrigation, draught-animals, tools for production to have their lives ensures. In a word, the people must have the rights over all means of production.

In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society of the former regime, or even in the present US society which is the top of capitalist society, the poor and the workers who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population have no employment, no land, no mean of production. They run out of food and clothes. When they are ill, they

have no medicine and die like beasts. They are riddled with debts and have to sell themselves or sell their sons and daughters. Can they be considered as having democratic rights and freedoms? When the people are forced to be sold as slaves, can one speak of democratic rights and freedoms? They exist only on paper. In the concrete situation of such a society where injustice prevails, the most beautiful moral cannot prevent the people from selling themselves and from selling their children as slaves, for they would be condemned to die if they do not do so.

Consequently, by giving everyone the means of production in the framework of the collectivist regime, our revolution has taken correct and just measures. These are measures which give everybody genuine democratic rights and freedoms and the right to lead an ensured life as the genuine masters of their own destiny.

We must recall that our socialist revolution is not a copy of a dogma. It comes from the requirements of our war for people's and national liberation which led us to proceed this way in order to achieve victory.

In 1970–1971, we liberated 75 to 80 percent of national territory. At that time, we had the political and military power, but not the economic one... We took measures to introduce some democratic reforms but the rice-fields and lands fundamentally remained private ownerships. What was the situation? The landowners and merchants gathered all the rice to sell it out to the Lon Nol clique and to the Vietnamese. The poor strata of our people ran out of rice. To live, they were forced to leave their lands, to sell their cattle and all their belongings to the landowners and to the merchants and go and seek for a job with a miserable salary to carry the luxury goods bought by the merchants from the zones controlled by the enemy into the liberated area. Thus, the landowners and merchants were ruling as masters. As for the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who were fighting at the front, they were running out of rice and fed with rice soup at every meal. Such situation was very dangerous for the people's and national liberation war. If this continued, either we would have been defeated by the US imperialists and the Lon Nol

clique, either we would have fallen under the Vietnamese domination. Now, the aim of our people in fighting for national liberation and for their liberation was to be masters of their own destiny, to hold it in their hands in full independence and sovereignty.

That was why in 1973, the Central Committee of our Party decided to create cooperatives of inferior and superior level in the whole liberated area.

Thanks to the cooperatives, our people have become masters of rice-fields and lands and masters of crops. Everyone has had lands to work with and enough rice to feed oneself. Likewise, our Revolutionary Army who were fighting at the front, were sufficiently supplied with rice. The living conditions of our fighters' families who were at the rear were fully ensured. All that had powerfully contributed to heighten the combative determination of our Revolutionary Army. The whole people and the whole army have had a greater faith in the Communist Party of Kampuchea and in the future of the nation.

In 1973, at the time when the US imperialists and the Vietnamese have undertaken maneuvers to reciprocatively dupe themselves on the back of Kampuchea and resorted to all kinds of pressures in order to force the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchea's people to lay down arms, our Communist Party of Kampuchea was always abiding by an unshakable position and was determined to carry on the struggle, to defend the honour and dignity of the nation, its people and its revolution. It was firmly determined to lead the people and the cooperatives in carrying on the struggle in the sole battlefield which was Kampuchea, to lead them in the people's war in order to at the same time, fight against the enemy, ensure the production and solve the problems of their living conditions in full independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, the whole people in the cooperatives, the whole army, the whole nation were united in a monolithic block with the Party, were waging in the same rhythm a stubborn and valiant struggle at the front as in the rear. An immense and powerful offensive movement has spread throughout the country against the

enemy, crushing at one and the same time the air war of the US imperialists and the traitor Lon Nol army who were collapsing by whole pieces until their total destruction on April 17, 1975. In the parallel direction, this impetuous offensive movement has inflicted a most ignominious defeat on the maneuvers of the Vietnamese who wanted to swallow Kampuchea.

Those facts have shown that the creation of cooperatives in 1973 has given to the socialist revolution a great power, the source of which is that our people, who are entirely satisfied with the socialist revolution, support and defend it.

Our Communist Party of Kampuchea has led out people to carry on the socialist revolution and to create the collectivist regime. Through the trade unions of the collectivist workers and the cooperatives of the collectivist peasants, the Party has established a solid and powerful worker-peasant alliance which has enabled to mobilize all the people's forces and all the national forces during the five year war (1970–1975) as well as at the present time.

Our enemies sarcastically asserted that the tiny Kampuchea could not pretend to be independent and sovereign and to rely on her own forces. It is for they have underestimated the strength of our people who are armed with a solid collectivist spirit, who have a solid collectivist organization and who are carrying on a deep socialist revolution under the correct and clear sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

By saying so, do contradictions exist in the present society of Kampuchea? It is quite normal that they exist. There are factors of unity as well as factors of contradictions. However, the factors of unity are far more important and predominant, for more than 99 percent of our people are united with the Communist Party of Kampuchea, follow the line of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in order to defend the country, carry on the socialist revolution, build up socialism and raise the people's standard of living. As for contradictions, we are striving to solve them by basing upon education and relying on the collectivist people's forces. We are solving them progressively. Our motivations are reasonable,

legitimate, realistic and known to everyone. We can then powerfully defend and build up our country and successfully solve the people's living conditions.

As for the agents of the enemy who persist in opposing the revolution of Kampuchea, the nation of Kampuchea, they are but a small handful and they are reduced to a complete isolation amidst the nation and the people. They are, in all circumstances, under the control of the collectivist people. Such is the present situation of our socialist revolution. It is our duty to strive to develop, strengthen and improve our socialist revolution to make it ever better and stronger.

3 Situation of Our Construction of Socialism

After examining the positive and negative aspects, favourable factors and difficulties, factors of progress and various obstacles, we can affirm that our movement of the socialist construction continues to progress in all fields.

The cooperatives which constitute the base of our collectivist regime continue to progressively develop and consolidate as much in political as in ideological and organizational fields. Our people are more and more aware of the merits of their collectivist regime which is the source of the impetuous offensive movements for national construction in all fields during the past dry season as well as during the present rainy season.

Our plan of hydraulic projects has been fundamentally carried out throughout the country during this year 1978. Various dams, reservoirs and canals of all sites built this year have enabled us to irrigate supplementary 300000 hectares. Adding this figure to the 400000 hectares achieved in 1977, we have already got 700000 hectares of irrigated areas in every season.

This year, the movement of agricultural production has faced a great obstacle due to floods. That was one of the biggest floods in the history of Kampuchea and the biggest one in the last seventy years. However, in spite of that, our people are not anxious at all for,

thanks to the collectivist forces, they can solve all the problems. The only problem they brought up to the Party was that of seeds.

The Party has already solved this problem and it has especially supplied seeds of early paddy, medium, paddy, corn, manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, soy-beans and peanuts.

The floods have caused damages to a number of housings in the flooded regions. At present, the whole Party, from the level of Central Committee, zones, regions, districts to services and organs are mobilized to master these floods. We have supplied the people of the flooded regions with construction materials, especially wood and latania leaves.

The population has already started to reconstruct houses as water begins to draw away. As soon as the floods entirely drew away, all the collectivist forces are mobilized to undertake the construction works and to rapidly solve the housing problem for the whole population.

Except these damages, the floods did not cause any victim among the population. Oxen, buffaloes and other domestic animals were all saved. In the former society, such a great flood would have caused important devastations to the people. But we could solve all the problems by ourselves in full independence and sovereignty, without going and imploring for helps. We have lands, water, we have the collectivist regime, and by our production works we are fully capable of solving all the problems caused by these floods.

As for Vietnam, the official figures mention that supplementary 2 million inhabitants will run out of rice after floods. Vietnam is now begging for new aids. It lacked already 2 million tons of rice. The floods have worsened this deficit. It is obvious that it will not be able to solve this problem. Why is it so? Because of the regime. The Vietnamese regime is a regime that betrays the revolution and exploits the people. In spite of that disastrous situation, Vietnam persists in carrying on its aggression against Kampuchea. It should reasonably stop its aggression against Kampuchea. and work to improve the living conditions of its people. Such is the true nature of the power holders in Hanoi!

1 In the Agricultural Field

Concerning the building up of our agriculture, in conformity with the resolution of the 4th Congress of our Party held in January 1976, our Party has defined the following slogan: build up a modern agriculture from a backward agriculture in a period of 10 to 15 years, starting from 1977. Such is the resolution we have adopted in front of the whole people and nation. Are we able to meet this engagement?

Undoubtedly, the building up of a modern agriculture raises numerous problems that must be solved. Which base do we take? We take rice production for base. We have defined as objective a minimum of 7 tons of paddy per hectare in the whole country. If we rot only 3 or 4 tons per hectare, even with a massive use of tractors and chemical fertilizers, we still could not regard our agriculture as a modern one.

In these conditions, will we be able to build up a modern agriculture? Our lands are for the most of them fertile. The key-problem is to create necessary conditions for mastering the water problem. By basing on our experiences in the past three years, we can assert that the water problem can be totally solved within a period of 8 to 10 years. Consequently, in a period of 10 to 15 years, we will then get a better mastery of the water problem throughout the country. Here and now, in all regions, gardens of paddy of our modern agriculture are emerging.

Along with the water problem, we have still to select seeds with high yield and increase the use of fertilizers. We have already trained a number of technicians specialized in the interbreeding of varieties of paddy, care against paddy diseases, analysis of soils and agricultural hydraulic. We are increasing their number at the national scale as well as the level of districts and cooperatives. This year, some of our varieties of paddy can yield from 5 to 8 tons per hectare in a single crop.

In brief, we have all the necessary conditions for passing from a backward agriculture to a modern one in a period of 10 to 15 years.

This problem is closely linked to the problem of national defence, to the problem of national construction and to that of the rapid rising up of our people's standard of living. Consequently, we must at all costs achieve this objective.

As for the various industrial cultures, we have also greatly developed them during this year 1978. From 1975 to 1977, we had concentrated all our efforts on rice culture in order to solve the food problem. Now, we have already fundamentally solved this problem in full independence. During 1978, we devoted one part of our forces to develop the industrial cultures in order to meet the needs of our light industry.

The jute production, this year, over-rates the planned objectives and the needs of our factory of jute bags in Battambang. We set out to build a new factory of jute bags of the same capacity as the existing one.

The cotton production also over-rates the planned objectives in Battambang as well es in Kampong Cham and other regions. At present, cotton plants are covered of beautiful fruits: each plant based 70 to 80 fruits. We must redouble our efforts in giving them cares in order to get a good harvest. Thus, we will have enough cotton for the needs of our textile factories in Battambang, Phnom Penh and Kampong Cham.

We have also developed the sugar cane culture, either in the cooperatives or industrially, in the State farms.

As for the rubber culture, the Vietnamese have destroyed a part of it, namely in Memot and Krek.

But we have much enlarged the growing areas and we are more and more enlarging them.

We have also developed other industrial cultures as well as those for exportation.

As we have already solved the food problem, we keep on developing industrial cultures and exportation cultures, such as corn, peanuts, beans, soy-beans, sesame, tobacco, etc. In order to increase capital for the building up of our industry.

2 In the Industrial Field

In the field of the building up of our industry, we have also elaborated a line to develop our industry in the framework of an independent economy. By basing ourselves on agriculture, we develop our light industry and move forward to the progressive building up of the heavy industry.

To build up an independent light industry does not present any difficulty. There is no problem of raw materials such as cotton, jute, sugar cane and other agricultural products. We have full possibilities to increase their production. During this year, we have entirely reconstructed a number of factories: the textile factory in Kampong Cham, the phosphate fertilizer factory in Tuk Meas. We have finished restoring some factories, such as the plywood factory, the glass factory.

As for cement factory, we have put a third stove into work. We are proceeding to the repairing of the sugar refinery in Battambang. At the same time, we build new factories, notably a paper-mill. A second factory making tires and four crepe-rubber factories. Besides, we have developed small factories and bandicraft workshops in the zones and regions, such as small textile and fertilizers factories, handicraft workshops of textile and of making soap. We have also progressively proceeded to the building up of heavy industry. Our heavy industry does not have the same characteristics as the one of the big countries. We build it up in conformity with the possibilities of our country.

One of the heavy industries we have to build up is siderurgy. We are constructing a steel-work capable of meeting the quarter of our present needs. At the same time, we are building up a new foundry of medium capacity in order to develop our experiences in this field. The iron ore we have found out will be sufficient to meet the needs of our siderurgy and we carry on our mining researches.

We are also building up engineering factories, namely 4 factory of making diesel engines of 12 horsepower, a factory of

repairing tractors, in addition to the existing repairing workshops in Phnom Penh and in other zones and regions.

We are building up power-stations. At the end of our four year-plan (1977–1980), the consumption of electricity of all factories, formerly existing and newly-built, will exceed 80000 kilowatts, that is 10 times higher than before the coup d'état. At that time, the electricity consumption in the industrial sector did not exceed 7000 kilowatts.

In the field of oil energy, we have proceeded to the preconstruction of our refinery which will be entirely finished by the end of 1979. It will treat 600000 tons of crude oil per year.

Besides, we will progressively develop our chemical industry. Presently, we are building up a factory of making acetic acid, a factory of making caustic soda which produces soda and chlore.

The Fourth Congress of our Party has laid out the following objective: turn Kampuchea, a backward agricultural country, into a country endowed with an industrial base in a period of 15 to 20 years. This objective aims at creating the conditions of an industrial country and to endow Kampuchea with light industry, food industry, iron and steel industry, power industry, oil industry and chemical industry. Such are the orientations defined by our Party in January 1976 we have to keep in mind in carrying out our daily tasks.

To achieve this objective, apart from the above-mentioned industries, we have built various workshops in the zones, regions, districts and cooperatives. We proceed so that these workshops progressively turn into factories in the future. Thus, we are striving to develop cottage industry and industry everywhere.

Where can we find capital to build up our industry? Our capital comes essentially from the work of our people. Our people, by their work, develop agricultural production. Those are capital to improve the living conditions of our people, to progressively develop agriculture and to build up industry.

Before, our people built Angkor monuments but remained poor and miserable. Now our people are building up a new Kampuchea, genuinely prosperous, endowed with a modern

agriculture and an industrial base. We must be conscious of this reality in order to be proud of our people and have faith in them, to strengthen our confidence in the line of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance of our Party.

We have also another important source of capital. That is the fact that we have no salary. The absence of salary constitutes in itself a great source of capital. This accumulated capital are used for the building up of our agriculture and our industry.

So we are able to rapidly build up our country in the agricultural and industrial fields in full independence and sovereignty and in relying on our own forces at a highest level.

Another problem: how to find technicians to build up our industry?

We want to rapidly build up our country to reinforce our national defence and to rapidly raise up our people's standard of living by abiding by the position of independence in order to serve the movement at present and to meet the strategical long-dated needs.

Now, we have already created technical schools. Some of them derive from the Department of Industry, others from the Department of Education. In these schools, we train our technicians and scientists by short cut ways: First short cut way: to learn to read, to write, and to calculate at the same time with technics and sciences.

Second short cut way: to learn what is indispensable to serve production in agriculture as well as in industry, and to put away from the programme everything that does not serve production.

Through our concrete experiences, this method of teaching has permitted a very rapid training of technicians. At present, the technicians trained by this method progressively master technics and can serve the movement in numerous sectors.

Third short cut way: to train technicians and scientists by relying on the people's masses. Those who have not succeeded in learning in one branch are guided towards another one. They can master technics in according to their capability and can serve the movement.

Fourth short cut way: to study and practice at the same time. After each term of study, the technicians go to the factories for practical application.

Consequently, just after being out from school, they have already mastered the technics for they have been trained to the practical work in factories. In our teaching system, theory serves practice and practice in turn, enlarges theory. But practice constitutes the fundamental element. Consequently, this education is within the reach of the masses. Pure theory discourages the masses. But pure practice, after a time, goes in an impasse. So, our training system is based on the alliance of theory with practice, by taking practice as fundamental element.

Besides, we have sent young worker technicians to friendly countries, for example to China, to study the oil refining process. After one year of study, they will come back home and assume the task of running our oil-refinery.

In brief, we want to rapidly build up our country in the agricultural and industrial fields as well as in that of training technicians. All that aims at powerfully ensuring the national defence, quickly improving the people's living conditions in accordance with our position of independence, sovereignty and of relying on our own forces at a high level, and aims at building up an independent economy.

These are the excellent results achieved in our construction of socialism in the economic field. But in comparison with our long-dated plan and in consideration of the poverty of our country, we have still a long way to go. We have to endeavor to always move forward and win new and great victories. We have to learn from the examples of heroism of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in order to strengthen our determination to throw ourselves still more vigorously into the struggle for well developing our agriculture and industry by great leaps and bounds. It is a great honour for us that the Party, the nation and the history have entrusted us with these tasks. We all take on the engagement not to let a so precious occasion uselessly pass away.

3 In the Field of Culture and Education

In the field of culture and education, we have carried on the elimination of the old reactionary, servile, corrupt and depraved culture so that it would not be an evil in our society. And, on the basis of our progressist national and people's traditions, we go on developing the new culture to put it into the service of the national defence and construction and the new life of our people, so that to make it sounder, more blooming and more prosperous, and to put it also into the service of the political and ideological education and the inculcation of the revolutionary consciousness, the love for motherland, our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The children and young people as well as the adult and old aged people study as they participate in the movement of national defence and construction. They learn general culture together with technics in tight liaison with the labor and production works. The whole people could study and increase their knowledge. Illiteracy has been eliminated in a general way and will be completely eliminated in a near future. At the same time, our people have well grasped the significance of the genuine revolutionary internationalism. They perfectly know how to differentiate the friends from the enemies of their own revolution as well as of the revolutionary and national liberation movements of the peoples the world over.

4 In the Field of Social Affairs and Health

In the field of social affairs and health, we have also achieved important progress. The health of our people has been notably improved. We have fundamentally wiped out malaria and we go on developing and strengthening these excellent results. All the special diseases have been definitively eradicated for we have eliminated all the corruption and depravation of the old society. A new sound society, without oppression and where prevails equality is in full development. The living conditions of the whole people have been

more and more ensured in all fields. Our policy of increasing the number of our population has scored its first satisfactory results. From mid-1977 to mid-1978, there have been 392,000 births for a population of 7 800, 000 inhabitants, that is with a rate of 50 per thousand. Before the 1970 coup d'état, this rate was only 40 per thousand and the death rate amounted to at least 18 per thousand. Now, the death rate is only 13 per thousand for the infant death rate has much decreased. The growth of our population is much more important than before the coup d'état. However, it is still not enough compared with the wishes of our Party for having a population of 15 to 20 million inhabitants from now up to 10–15 years. We have then to give full importance to improve the conditions of living and health of our people and that, in order to increase more rapidly our population.

In brief, during last year, our people, under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea have achieved many and important successes in all fields.

More and more peoples and friendly countries rejoice at these excellent results and have expressed their warm sympathy and support. Our Party and our people avail themselves of this opportunity to express to them their most sincere thanks. They consider the sympathy, encouragement and solidarity of all friends, near or far, as a most precious support to their position of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance and to their policy of independence, peace, neutrality and of non-alignment and we are determined to always be in solidarity with all the revolutionary forces, all the progressist, peace- and justice-loving forces the world over for independence, peace, freedom, justice, friendship and social progress against imperialism, expansionism, annexationism, racism and against all the reactionaries.

Dear Comrades,

The present situation of our revolution is excellent in all fields, thanks to our Communist Party of Kampuchea which, by its correct and

clear-sighted political line, has led all of us in the struggle and has made us victoriously overcome 411 obstacles. We have to gras» well this excellent situation in order to continue to fulfil our tasks and to win new and great successes in all fields.

Primo: the task of national defence. This task is the task of absolute priority. It is only by successfully ensuring the national defence that we could successfully fulfil the other tasks. We always have to enhance and heighten our revolutionary vigilance in order to be masters of the situation in all fields, and to face the perfidious maneuvers of the enemies of all kinds, especially the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories.

This task of national defence falls on our whole Communist Party of Kampuchea, our whole people and our whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. Particularly, the comrades who are struggling at the front Must consider this task as a glorious task entrusted by our whole Communist Party of Kampuchea, our whole people and our whole race and they must be determined to successfully fulfil it at all costs.

Secundo: together with the task of national defence, we have the task of carrying on the socialist revolution, of building un socialism and of rapidly raising up the living conditions of our people. At the front, our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea is fighting to ensure the national defence. We all, at the rear, are determined to serve as powerful and precious support for the front and we are determined to closely unite with the front by vigorously waging the struggle in order to fulfil the plan of national construction by 100 per cent and even more in all fields, for the present year and the years to come.

On this occasion when we are celebrating the 18th Anniversary of our Communist Party of Kampuchea:

- we take on the resolution to learn by the lofty revolutionary heroism of our people at every epoch, who have consented all kinds of sacrifices in the struggle against the enemies of all kinds to defend and safeguard our territory and race up to now.

• we all take on the resolution to learn by the noble revolutionary heroism of our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea at the front.

Inspired by these noble examples, we are determined to more than ever vigorously wage the struggle in order to carry out well our tasks with a high spirit of responsibility to the Communist Party of Kampuchea, our people and the history.

At Last, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, I would like to extend my best wishes to all comrades, to those who are present at this meeting as well as to all the comrades in all units, bases, organs and services, who are struggling to achieve their tasks for the service of the nation and people of Kampuchea so that they win always greater and new victories.

I wish all our collectivist people new and greater victories in all fields. I wish our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea of three arms: land, naval and air, new and greater victories over the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories.

SPEECH MADE BY COMRADE POL POT AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (5 November 1978)

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Respected and beloved Comrade Wang Dongxing, Vice Chairman of the Communist Party of China,

Respected and beloved Comrade Yu Qiuli, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Deputy-Prime Minister of the State Council,

Dear Comrades members of the Delegation of the Chinese Party and Government,

Dear Comrades,

Today, the Delegation of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China led by Comrade Vice Chairman Wang Dongxing, Chairman of the Delegation, and Comrade Deputy-Prime Minister Yu Qiuli, Deputy-Chairman of the Delegation, has arrived in Phnom Penh in order to pay a friendly official visit to Democratic Kampuchea at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the government of Democratic Kampuchea, we have great pleasure to have the honour to extend to Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Dongxing, chairman of the Delegation, to Comrade Deputy Prime Minister Yu Qiuli, Deputy-Chairman of the

Delegation, as well as to all Comrades members of the delegation, our warmest and deepest fraternal welcome.

The visit of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Dongxing and the Delegation of the Chinese party and Government is a continuation of he visits of high level delegations which have been successively exchanged between our two Parties and two Governments. This is a new brilliant stage of the harmonious and firm development of the ties of the great friendship and great militant revolutionary solidarity sealing together our two peoples and two countries, Kampuchea-China, since long time.

By coming and paying a visit to Democratic Kampuchea, you have brought with you the profound feelings of revolutionary brotherhood of the Chinese communists and the brotherly Chinese people for the communists and the people of Kampuchea. This is another brilliant evidence reflecting the profound affection that the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people and the government of the People's Republic of China always have towards the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchea's people and the government of Democratic Kampuchea. It is also a new and powerful encouragement for our people and our Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea in fulfilling their tasks of defending the country, carrying on the socialist revolution and building up socialism.

Our party, our people and our government highly appreciate this invaluable attitude and sentiments of the Chinese comrades-in-arms and would like to express to you our most sincere thanks.

Dear Comrades,

By coming and paying a visit to Democratic Kampuchea, Comrade Vice Chairman Wang Dongxing and the other Comrades in the Delegation of the Chinese Party and government have brought us cheering news out the new and brilliant victories won by the Chinese people in fulfilling their tasks during the new stage of their history, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China having Comrade Chairman Hua Guofeng as wise leader.

After eliminating the "Gang of Four" the situation of the socialist revolution and construction in China has most favorably developed and got into a new period of rapid development. After having successfully put an end to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people of all nationalities, under the leadership the Communist Party of China led by Comrade Chairman Hua Guofeng and enlightened by the line of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China, are arduously and enthusiastically holding aloft the banner of struggle of the three great revolutionary movements, that is the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and they have won brilliant victories in all fields, political, economic, cultural, scientific, technical and diplomatic. At present, the brotherly Chinese people are redoubling their efforts to fulfil their noble tasks put forth by Comrade Prime Minister Zhou Enlai following the directives of Comrade Chairman Mao Zedong aiming at achieving the four modernizations in transforming China into a modern and powerful socialist country endowed with modern agriculture and industry, a vanguard science and technology and a capability of advanced and powerful defence before the end of this century.

There is another fact which has made us most particularly happy, that is the prestige and influence of the People's Republic of China are highly increasing on the international arena. This is the result of the very excellent internal situation of China. It is also the fruits of the revolutionary line of Comrade Chairman Mao Zedong in foreign policy that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Chairman Hua Guofeng have always adhered to and carried out. The visits of Comrade Chairman Hua Guofeng to Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran and the signature of the China-Japan Treaty of peace and friendship are the great victories of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and have also actively contributed to the defence of the independence and peace of the peoples and countries in Asia and in the world.

But the fact which has comforted and satisfied the peoples the world over and especially those of the Third World, is that the

Communist Party of China and the Chinese government have constantly carried out the revolutionary line of Comrade Chairman Mao Zedong in foreign policy, by abiding by the strictest and most genuine proletarian internationalism. The People's Republic of China has unvaryingly carried out the Pancha Sila, has maintained relations based on a strict equality with all countries, big or small and has become a model in the international relations. The Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China have become a very important factor of confidence of the revolutionary movement, the exploited and oppressed peoples the world over as well as the peoples and the countries in struggling to defend and safeguard their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to determine their own destiny.

The rigorous and sound revolutionary position and proletarian internationalist spirit of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China have enjoyed respect and admiration from the justice- and peace-loving peoples and countries the world over, particularly the Third World and non-aligned peoples and countries.

On the other hand, these rigorous and sound revolutionary position and proletarian internationalist spirit are a great obstacle to the strategy of world domination of the imperialist big power and the international expansionist big power, and to their tactics aiming at swallowing the countries one after another. The People's Republic of China constitutes a powerful bulwark which opposes the strategy of aggression and expansion of the international expansionists and the Vietnamese in Asia and in Southeast Asia. That is why the international expansionist big power and Vietnam are dead set against the People's Republic of China and they have feverishly carried out activities aiming at surrounding and isolating China in Asia and in Southeast Asia.

The racist policy of barbarous and fascist persecution carried out by the Vietnamese against the Chinese nationals and their policy of frenzied provocations against China along the border, as well as the efforts of the Soviet international expansionists to reinforce and

extend their naval and missile bases in Vietnam, fall within the framework of their anti-Chinese policy and their policy of threatening the Asian and Southeast Asian countries.

However, the adventurist policy of the international expansionists and the Vietnamese has suffered successive defeats and encountered inextricable difficulties. It is still suffering bitter defeats and encountering more inextricable difficulties in Asia, Southeast Asia and in the world.

Dear Comrades,

We are very delighted at these great successive victories won by the brotherly and comrade-in-arms Chinese people. We consider these victories as our own victories. We wish the brotherly Chinese people new and greater victories in their new Long March under the great banner of Comrade Chairman Mao Zedong, their great leader and educator under the leadership of the Communist Parry of China having Comrade Chairman Hua Guofeng as wise leader.

Dear Comrades,

This present visit of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Dongxing and comrades members of the delegation of the Chinese party and government constitutes a great encouragement to the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea who are holding aloft the banner of struggle to achieve their tasks of defending the country, carrying on the socialist revolution, and building up socialism by firmly abiding by the position of independence, and sovereignty and of relying fundamentally on their own forces.

At present, our people are valiantly and arduously struggling in order to totally achieve the plan of building up socialism for the year 1978 in the fields of agriculture, industry, social affairs, health, culture, teaching and education, and in order to further raise the standard of living of our people although this year our country has been victim of severe floods, rarely happened in her history, and

although at the same time, our people have to tackle and oppose the large-scale barbarous acts of aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories and elimination of our race unceasingly perpetrated by the Vietnamese enemy against Democratic Kampuchea.

In their aggression against Kampuchea, since the end of 1977 up to now, the Vietnamese have suffered heavy defeats. Their strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory" aiming at taking possession of Kampuchea has suffered a total defeat and they have been driven into a strategy of "protracted struggle" which is the most unfavorable for the aggressors, whatever may be. From this fact, their sinister expansionist strategy aiming at swallowing Kampuchea has failed and has been unmasked in bad daylight. It is the same for their strategy of "Indochina Federation," their strategy of expansion in Asia and in Southeast Asia, and their role as a pawn of the Soviet international expansionists in Southeast Asia.

However, in spite of their strategical defeat suffered in their aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese and their masters are still persisting in arrogantly, madly and openly carrying on their savage aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, in defiance of their international opinion, for they have not given up their strategy aiming at taking possession of Kampuchea in order to extend their domination over Indochina and Southeast Asia, in conformity with the Asian and world strategy of their master.

During the past rainy season, with the active participation of the Soviet international expansionist big power in setting forward plans of aggression and sending thousands of military advisers and huge war materials, the Vietnamese have prepared and are preparing actively their forces of aggression in order to launch a second strategical large-scale attack of invasion against Kampuchea during this dry season. And in order to camouflage this plan of their second strategical aggression, the Vietnamese and their master have carried out coward maneuvers aiming at misleading the public world opinion and own peoples.

But the Vietnamese and their masters, the Soviet international expansionists cannot do as they please against our nation and the

people of Kampuchea. In their aggression, they will surely suffer heavier and more ignominious defeats than those they have already suffered at the end of 1977 and during this year. The heroic nation and people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea have inflicted a historic feat on April 17, 1975 on the US imperialists and their lackeys and have conquered their independence and national dignity and honor, and that, it was in extremely difficult conditions, both objective and subjective. Today, when the conditions are much better than ever before, particularly in comparison with those at the end of 1977 and in 1978 in the subjective as well as in the objective field, the heroic nation and people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea will ineluctably inflict a total defeat on the second strategical aggression of the Vietnamese and their master against Kampuchea. The Vietnamese will suffer ignominious defeats at one and at the same time in the military, political, economic and diplomatic fields, at home as well as in Southeast Asia, Asia and the world over.

The only and best way for the Vietnamese is to immediately put an end to their aggression against Kampuchea and accept to conclude a friendship and non-aggression treaty between Kampuchea and Vietnam for the interest of both Vietnam and Kampuchea as well as that of Southeast Asia, Asia and the world.

That is the sacred wish of Democratic Kampuchea and her people. That is also the wish of the countries and peoples of Southeast Asia, Asia and the world over. We think that it is also the desire of the Vietnamese people.

Dear Comrades,

In the past, Comrade Chairman Mao Zedong, Comrade Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, the Communist Party of China and the brotherly Chinese people have given us wholehearted and unconditional aids and supports in a lofty proletarian internationalist spirit, contributing to the strengthening and development of independence and

sovereignty. On this auspicious occasion, the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchea's people and the government of Democratic Kampuchea wish to renew once again their deepest thanks to the Party, to the Government and to the brotherly Chinese people.

Our two parties and our two peoples, Kampuchea-China, have always attached great importance to carefully look after the development, strengthening and blossoming of the great friendship and great militant solidarity which always unite us together. Up to now, this great friendship and this great solidarity have been each day flourishingly and powerfully developed and they have successfully gone through the most various tests. It is because our friendship and solidarity strongly rely on a correct and sound revolutionary political basis, that is mutual respect, reciprocal affection and esteem based on equality mutual and sincere understanding, aids and supports. Such a friendship and such a solidarity are an important factor contributing to the defence of independence, sovereignty, friendship, peace and stability in Southeast Asia, Asia and in the world.

We are deeply satisfied with the ties and these Kampuchea-China's great friendship and great solidarity. We will do our utmost to develop and strengthen these great friendship and great solidarity to make them always more flourishing, stronger and everlasting. We are firmly convinced that this present visit of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Donxing and comrades members of the delegation of the Chinese party and government of Democratic Kampuchea will surely bring about the most important contribution to the strengthening and development of the Kampuchea-China's great friendship and great solidarity, so that they would become a fat stone wall which will crush any enemy's adventurist attempts.

In these profound sentiments, we would like to extend our wishes:

—for the total and brilliant success of the friendly official visit of the Delegation of the Chinese Party and Government!

—for the everlastingness of the great friendship and great revolutionary military solidarity between the two Parties, two peoples and two countries, Kampuchea-China!

—for the health and longevity of Comrade Chairman Hua Guofeng!

—for the health of Comrade Vice-Chairman Wang Dongxing!

—for the health of Comrade Deputy Prime Minister Yu Qiuli!

—for the health of all Comrades members of the Delegation!

—for the health of all Comrades present here!

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH (5 November 1978)

From *Peking Review* 21, no. 45 (10 Nov 1978): 4. This contains excerpts from a speech given by Pol Pot, along with commentary from the writers for the *Peking Review*.

"Since the Soviet Union—the international expansionist big power—has taken an active part in the design and sent thousands of military advisers and large quantities of military supplies, Viet Nam has deployed in the last rainy season and is still deploying at a fast pace its aggressor forces for unleashing a second large-scale strategic attack [against Kampuchea] in this dry season."

This was said by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, at the banquet he gave on November 5 in honour of the Chinese Party and Government delegation headed by Vice-Chairman Wang Dongxing of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The delegation arrived in Phnom Penh on November 5 on an official friendship visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

In his speech at the banquet, Secretary Pol Pot also said: "Viet Nam and its master—the Soviet international expansionists—cannot do what they like with the Kampuchean nation and people. Their aggression is bound to meet with a defeat more severe and disastrous than they suffered at the end of 1977 and in 1978."

"The best and only way for Viet Nam is to stop immediately its aggression against Kampuchea and sign a Kampuchean-Vietnamese treaty of friendship and non-aggression," he added. "This alone conforms to the interests of Viet Nam and Kampuchea and those of Southeast Asia, Asia and the world."

SUMMARY OF THE TALKS WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE XINHUA NEWS AGENCY (11 December 1978)

From Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Kampuchea, 1978.

As broadcast previously by the "Voice of Democratic Kampuchea," on December 11, 1978 in the morning, Comrade Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea received Comrade Li Nan, Deputy of Director of the International Department of the Xinhua News Agency and the Delegation of the Xinhua News Agency he led.

On this occasion, Comrade Secretary Pol Pot informed the comrades from Xinhua News Agency about the situation in Democratic Kampuchea. Comrade Secretary of our Party recalled the Vietnamese objective aiming at integrating Kampuchea into Vietnam through its strategy of "Indochina Federation." Comrade Secretary of our Party said:

> The "Indochinese Communist Party" of Vietnam decided to set up "a sole party, a sole people and a sole country." That is to say "a sole party, a sole people and a sole country" belonging to Vietnam. Therefore based on this strategy, the Vietnamese have carried out all kinds of activities aiming at taking possession of Kampuchea. But since 1930 up to now, during these past 48 years, the Vietnamese have not succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese have carried out all kinds of maneuvers, but they failed.

Comrade Secretary Pol Pot added:

> Immediately after the liberation and the reunification of their country between the North and the South, the Vietnamese

have started to carry out their strategy of "Indochina Federation" and their strategy of Southeast Asia.

The circumstances when the Vietnamese have carried out its strategy square with the circumstances of the Soviet strategy in Africa. In 1975 and 1976, Cuba played the role of mercenary of the Soviet Union in Africa. As for Vietnam, it has shown its arrogance and insolence toward the other Southeast Asian countries. Vietnam and the Soviet Union thought they have favourable and diplomatic problems. Nobody could say anything. But Vietnam has badly overestimated its forces. Its strategy "lightning attack, lightning victory" has been fundamentally defeated. The reason was that its army were an army of aggression and they had no bases in the Kampuchea's territory. They had no people, no economy. Their 14 divisions ventured in the empty space.

Comrade Secretary of our Party further said:

The Vietnamese had no supplying forces in Kampuchea. They had to bring ammunitions food and soldiers from Vietnam. In such a situation, the Vietnamese were not strong. They were fallen into our encircling. We were stronger than them. We had our army. We were in our territory and fully aware of its geographical situation. We had our people and food. In these favourable conditions, we won the victories. We could launch both big and small attacks against the enemy. We could attack them at any time, both abreast and on the flanks. We could use either infantry or artillery. We could attack both with mobilized infantry or guerrilla units. We laid mines everywhere.

Comrade Secretary Pol Pot said:

> During the second world war when the aggressors entered into some countries, they could enjoy themselves with dancing, drinking, all kinds of debauch. As for the Vietnamese troops, when they got into the Kampuchea's territory they had no places to enjoy themselves. They had to live in the trenches. They had to be always on guard and frightened. Therefore, not only that they had no economic or political bases, but they were completely isolated and condemned to be annihilated.

Comrade Secretary Pol Pot said that the military cadres of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea firmly grasped the development of contradictions on the enemy side, When the Vietnamese troops were mobilized in their territory and launched a sudden attack, they seemed to be powerful. But when they intruded into the Kampuchea's territory, they had to spread their forces. They have then become scarcely distributed. The deeper they got into, the scarcer they would be. The deeper they moved in, the more they had to face with difficulties in transporting ammunitions, food and troops. Thus, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea could cut off the Vietnamese troops into chunks and annihilate them.

Comrade Secretary Pol Pot informed the reporters of the Xinhua News Agency that:

> In the war against the Vietnamese for national defence under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, we take into account the military, political and economic factors as well as the factors of food and friends in the world. During this year, since the Government of. Democratic. Kampuchea has informed the world about the Vietnamese acts of aggression, annexation, swallowing of territories against Democratic Kampuchea, these factors have met with a great transformation.
>
> Firstly, in 1977, on the international arena, the Vietnamese carried out slanderous propagandas, disparaging Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchea's revolution. At

that time, they still had some credit among the world public opinion. They still could dupe the world public opinion. Now, the situation has turned upside-down. Only a very few countries are on the side of Vietnam. Vietnam is extremely isolated. Southeast Asia stands by the side of Kampuchea and it needs an independent Kampuchea. An independent Kampuchea is in the interest of the Asian countries and the world over.

Being unable to deceive the world public opinion anymore, the Vietnamese have rushed to kneel down and lick the Soviet expansionists boots. Such is a situation of an impasse. The Vietnamese prostate themselves before the Soviet Union to beg for aid. But, they have be come more and more isolated. Their baleful face has been more clearly unmasked. The whole world have bean alarmed at this event.

Being so heavily defeated and extremely isolated, the Soviet Union alone could not rescue the Vietnamese. That is why the Soviet expansionists have to mobilize all their followers inside the Warsaw military alliance to come to the Vietnamese rescue. If the Soviet expansionists alone could rescue the Vietnamese, they would not mobilize their followers inside the Warsaw military alliance. However, when the Soviet Union asked the Warsaw military alliance to come to the Vietnamese rescue, these latter have then become more isolated. The forces inside the Warsaw military alliance were also opposed to that. If the Soviet Union brings the Warsaw military alliance into Asia, how would the situation in the world be? The other countries will also have to think about it. The tendency of hating the Vietnamese, the tendency of condemning the Vietnamese, the tendency of not helping the Vietnamese keep on moving forward.

If the world stops supplying rice and food to the Vietnamese, the latter could not solve their problem. In one or two more years, the Vietnamese will ineluctably be driven into ruin and annihilation. The Soviet economic alliance

COMECON would not be able to solve this problem,. It can temporarily give aids to Vietnam. But it cannot be the guardian of the Vietnamese and bear them to wage a protracted war against Kampuchea. The East European peoples will certainly stand up and fight against it. This is the only source which the Vietnamese rely on. And this source is not strong enough to help them.

Therefore, in this year, there is a great change among the world public opinion which has led the Vietnamese into an extreme isolation.

Such is the international factor. Secondly, about the factor of economy and food: In comparison with Kampuchea, Vietnam is in full starvation. Kampuchea has her rice. Therefore, as far as food is concerned, Kampuchea is stronger than Vietnam, her adversary. And Vietnam could not solve this problem by itself, it has sought for foreign aids. Today, in the world, only the Soviet Union and its clan help Vietnam. This situation is therefore not any good for Vietnam. If the war goes on, Vietnam will face more and more inextricable difficulties.

Thirdly, about the political factors: Stability prevails throughout Kampuchea. But the Vietnamese are facing many difficulties in the political field. There are dissensions within the Vietnamese party. When they set up the plan of invasion and aggression against Kampuchea, they were united. But, when they failed, everybody would have to review one's position. Now, this war is still going on and is in full complexity. Besides, Vietnam is now carrying out acts of provocations against China. This has brought about more dissensions among themselves. The economic crisis has also further increased these internal dissensions. The Vietnamese people are also against them. The people in the South are fighting against the authorities from the North. Everywhere insecurity is always prevailing, especially in the South. There are 3 opposition movements in the South:

1 The movement of the Khmers of Kampuchea Krom

2 The movement of the national minorities living in the highlands, formerly called Fulro. It is a movement for liberation of the national minorities living in the highlands' regions in Vietnam.

3 The movement among the South Vietnamese people such as the former Thieu's officials and functionaries, the catholics, the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai.

After examining these three factors: the factors of friends on the international arena, the factor of economy-food and the political factor, we have seen clearly that we are in the superiority over the Vietnamese. We have these bases in order to carry on the war for national defence. As for Vietnam, it meets inextricable difficulties in these three bases.

Concerning the other factors, Comrade Secretary Pol Pot said:

At the end of 1977 and at the beginning. of 1978, Vietnam has been strategically defeated in its "lightning attack, lightning victory" and has carried on its attacks against Kampuchea in 1978. In this 1978, because of its repeated attacks along the border, its forces have then been annihilated in great number. It has suffered heavy defeats.

Vietnam has not succeeded in taking possession of Kampuchea. It has run about for help from the Soviet expansionists and the Warsaw military alliance. If it has enough military forces, it would not seek for this help. Previously it has used a slogan asserting that the conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea is an ordinary border problem in order to deceive the world public opinion. At present, it can no more deceive anyone, for this conflict has

become internationalized. Vietnam has now to mobilize the world to rescue it, thus alarming everybody. Now, this war has clearly stepped into its internationalization.

Comrade Secretary Pol Pot has analysed the forces of the Warsaw military alliance as follows:

> What kind of forces could the Warsaw military alliance use? How could it manage to use its infantry? We think that it could use some of its infantry forces. But these forces will face inextricable difficulties, for they have to come and wage a war in Kampuchea, far away from East Europe. If 10,000 infantry forces are sent in, they will have to face many problems. If with 20,000 infantry forces, the problem will become greater, for these soldiers do not eat rice. They are forced to bring food along from their countries. In conception, our Party dares to say that the Warsaw military alliance could venture to use its infantry, but it will face many inextricable difficulties. There is a second possibility, it could use thousands or tens of thousands of advisers. At! the same time, the Warsaw military alliance could send in its planes, artillery pieces and tanks.
>
> At the first we assess that more aids will stage, be given to Vietnam in order to quickly solve the problem. But, when the war keeps carrying on, it will face many problems. Planes and tanks are not the problem for us. They could bring us some difficulties for some time. At the first attack, it could have some breakthroughs. We must take this problem into account in advance. But the, determinant factor is to have a lot of infantry forces. Since the battles take place in our territory; the Warsaw military alliance will surely meet with many difficulties, for it has neither people nor food. It has to bring everything to supply its troops. As far as the fights last, its troops will be more and more annihilated. We will still carry out the same tactics of fighting by cutting the enemy in the middle as well as in the rear, Therefore, they have to keep

themselves ready all the time. In order to defend an end of a road of 5km long, they need to have a battalion of troops. The longer the road is, the more forces they need to defend it. If they use a division to launch an offensive and enter 10km deep, they have to use a regiment to defend the road. Thus, they have no sufficient forces to defend the road and launch any further offensives against us. We stand on the protracted war. Based on this protracted war, we are confident in the victory. We closely follow to see what kind of forces the Warsaw military alliance will use? If it uses many of its own forces and get stuck in Kampuchea, would it not become weaker in other places? It has to think about that.

Comrade Pol Pot further said:

We are opposing Vietnam and the Warsaw military alliance, for:

—firstly, it is a national task;

—secondly, it is also an international one as a defender of the banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as a defender of the banner of the revolution.

Strategically, we are not worry. But tactically, we have to be vigilant and deploy all our efforts.

Concerning the Vietnamese organization called after a Khmer name, Comrade Secretary Pol Pot said that Vietnam is facing an impasse. That is why vi it has set up such an organization. It has no way out. It has been heavily defeated so that it has resorted to another new label to mislead the world public opinion. But only after one or two days of Hanoi's propaganda, this label has already been disclosed without having the change to be shown by itself. And after the coming up of this label, the world has been aware of that it is

a pure Vietnamese organization. Everything Vietnam has done has just further unmasked its baleful face. By being aware of its true nature, we know that Vietnam will keep carrying on this thing and its face will be more and more unmasked. Later, it will use the cover of Kampuchea's name, and will organize something like a press conference. Kampuchea used to know such a play very well.

The world has also been fully aware of that.

Comrade Pol Pot further added:

Such is a situation I wish to inform you on the aggression in the past perpetrated by Vietnam against Kampuchea and our assessment on the situation to the future. We have to strive by ourselves.

In this struggle, we have enjoyed great support from many friends the world over. And more and more friends have supported us. The Party, the people, the army and the Government of China have successively supported us. On behalf of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, we would like to take this opportunity to express our deep thanks to the Communist Party of China, the people, the army and the Government of China and to Comrade Chairman Hua Guofeng and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. In the past, at present and in the future, we have united together for a common cause to win victory.

At the same time, we would also like extend thanks to all friends the world over.

The talks have been proceeded in a cordial atmosphere in the warmest fraternal revolutionary feelings.

EXCERPT FROM SAYINGS TO THE CANADIAN COMMUNIST LEAGUE (MARXIST-LENINIST) (29 December 1978)

From *October*, no. 6 (Spring 1979).

As Pol Pot said to us at our December 29 meeting, “The defence of our country will contribute to the defence of sovereignty, peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the whole world. We must all devote greater efforts to blocking the Soviet Union’s expansionist plans.”

WE WILL NEVER LET VIETNAM SWALLOW OUR COUNTRY (29 December 1978)

From *Kampuchea Will Win!: An eyewitness account by the last foreign delegation to visit Kampuchea (Cambodia) before the Vietnamese-Soviet aggression* (1979), 17–19

The League delegation met with Kampuchean Prime Minister Pol Pot in Phnom Penh, Dec. 29, just before the massive Vietnamese-Soviet invasion. We had a three-hour interview. The following are excerpts from his remarks.

The Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea "is not a border conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea," Pol Pot told us. "It is part of the Vietnamese and Soviet strategy to dominate Southeast Asia, Asia and the rest of the world. Vietnam wants to become a regional power allied with the Soviets."

He explained how the revisionist Vietnamese leadership is trying to dominate the smaller countries in Southeast Asia under a Vietnamese-controlled "lndochinese Federation." Vietnam has already succeeded in occupying neighbouring Laos with 50,000 troops, a force larger than the Laotian army itself.

Four Assassination Attempts

Pol Pot explained how Vietnam had tried to infiltrate the Communist Party of Kampuchea, attempted numerous coups and stirred up border troubles. He told us that four assassination attempts had been made on the lives of Party leaders since 1975. "But the CPK is solid," Pal Pot said, "and we will always refuse to be slaves of Vietnam. We have a people who are united, and if it takes 10, 20 or 100 years, we will never let Vietnam swallow our country."

Blocked in all its attempts, Vietnam launched its first big offensive in December 1977. "They pillaged our rice, killed inhabitants and razed buildings to the ground," he said.

After 17 days of aggression, the Vietnamese invaders were pushed out of Kampuchea January 6, 1978.

Throughout 1978, Pol Pot explained to us, Vietnam set about organizing another invasion but was not able to attack immediately because of its serious internal difficulties.

He described how the Vietnamese were short five million tons of rice to feed about two million Vietnamese who were starving following widespread flooding. Politically, Pol Pot told us, the Vietnamese leaders face internal political opposition, including armed struggle from movements like the oppressed Khmer Krom—the Kampuchean minority living in the Mekong Delta region.

Militarily, he said, the Vietnamese lacked the forces to attack. At that time they particularly lacked air power.

"It was in this situation of serious difficulties that the Vietnamese leaders threw themselves into the arms of the Soviets. They signed a military pact with them and joined the COMECON economic alliance," Pol Pot explained.

Vietnam has become the Cuba of the East. Soviet and Warsaw Pact advisors poured into Vietnam to help operate the Soviet-supplied planes, tanks and heavy artillery. Moscow spent $2 billion in "aid." On our trip around the country, we saw Soviet guns and tanks captured from the Vietnamese.

Cannot Take Kampuchea

"Strategically they (the Vietnamese -*ed.*) cannot take Kampuchea," Pol Pot told us. "Confronted with the leadership of the CPK, a united people and an army steeled through many years of fighting the US, they cannot win."

"Tactically," he said, "we must be very vigilant. The enemy can penetrate, especially under the cover of heavy air power, artillery and tank forces. As the war drags on Vietnam will face many problems."

"We stand on protracted war and we are confident of victory. The US attacked us ferociously; Lon Nol had tens of thousands of

troops against us; the Thieu-Ky army invaded us—and we won." Pol Pot concluded, "Our defence contributes to the defence of sovereignty, peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and the entire world... We must all do our best to block the plans of expansion of the Vietnamese and Soviets."

SUMMARY OF POL POT INTERVIEW (December 1978)

From *The Call* 8, no. 3 (22 January 1979)

From our talks with Prime Minister Pol Pot and Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary it seems very clear that the Kampuchean people were prepared and expecting the attack for a long time.

Pol Pot told us very clearly that the strategy and tactics of the Kampuchean people were basically peoples war.

This is what Pol Pot told us: "Strategically the Vietnamese cannot take Kampuchea. The leadership of the Party, united people and the army are steeled through many years of fighting the U.S. Tactically, however, we must be very vigilant. The enemy can penetrate, especially under cover of heavy airpower, artillery and tank forces.

"But when the war keeps carrying on, Vietnam will face many problems.

"Since the battles take place on our territory, they may have lots of plane attacks, but the determining factor is to have a lot of infantry forces. They will have neither the people nor the food. They have to bring everything to supply their troops.

"We start on protracted war. Based on this, we are confident of success. The U.S. attacked us ferociously. Lon Nol had tens of thousands of troops against us. The Theiu-Ky army invaded us. And we still won.

"So whatever temporary difficulties the Vietnamese cause us, we know we will win against them."

Pol Pot attached a lot of importance to the heavy use of airpower in this offensive. He said that last year the Vietnamese offensive was essentially done with tanks and infantry. But this year, he predicted that there would be heavy use of airpower.

Pol Pot very clearly said that the extensive use of airpower stemmed from the fact that most of the planes were being piloted by Russian pilots. He said that the Kampuchean armed forces were able

to monitor communication between the planes and the ground bases which were in Russian.

Secondly, he said, many of the tank crews were Russian or belonged to the Warsaw Pact forces. He also specifically said that, as far as logistics went, a lot of the military experts on the ground were East German or belonged to other Warsaw Pact troops.

Because of the heavy use of air power, Pol Pot took into account the possibility of having certain losses in the early stages of the war and he said very clearly that the Kampuchean forces will not let themselves be engaged in any frontal battle with the Vietnamese.

The essential tactic was to concede the roads and the cities, which were empty anyway; let the Vietnamese extend their line as deep as possible into Kampuchean territory; then attack from the countryside. They would basically attack the flank and the rear of the incoming enemy column with the aim of cutting them into smaller groups, which then could be annihilated easier by the Kampuchean armed forces.

So the impression we had was that they were perfectly prepared in terms of political strategy and military strategy for the Vietnamese attack.

SIX FACTORS NECESSARY FOR VICTORY IN THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST VIETNAM'S AGGRESSION (5 January 1979)

From *Class Struggle: Journal of Communist Thought* 11 (1979): 124–28.

Beloved Comrades!
Beloved Compatriots!

Having been motivated by a lofty sense of patriotism for many generations against enemies of all kinds who had come and done harm to, aggressed on and annexed Kampuchea, the whole nation and the whole people of Kampuchea have become most accustomed to valiantly uniting together and struggling against these enemies, in their capacity as a nation and a people having a glorious tradition of struggle, a high level of civilization and a lofty sense of heroism.

It is as a nation and a people having such a glorious tradition of struggle that the Kampuchean nation and people have always waged struggle against Vietnam's strategy, which is aimed at annexing and swallowing Kampuchea's territory through its strategy of "Indochina Federation." During the past 48 years, the Vietnamese enemy has unceasingly carried out its strategy of annexation and swallowing up of Kampuchea's territory through all sorts of maneuvers, sweet or savage, open or secret, threats, subversions, attempts at coups d'état, acts of aggression and invasion. They have carried out all these maneuvers and acts without a break, aiming to carry out their arch-criminal strategy. But this Vietnamese arch-criminal strategy has suffered successive, heavy, ignominious and bitter defeats.

In the face of these great defeats during the past 48 years, especially in 1977 and 1978, the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact have once again attempted to savagely fling themselves about in order to mobilize all their forces, including huge quantities of infantry, tanks, heavy

artillery and planes, and to carry out invasions of Democratic Kampuchea, especially since December 25, 1978, which are aimed at annihilating Kampuchea's nation and people. However, the heroic Kampuchean people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have most valiantly fought against them by holding aloft the banner of Kampuchea's revolution, the banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of glorious Democratic Kampuchea, the banner of the dignity and honor of the Kampuchean nation and people, and by resolutely fighting against the Vietnamese enemy, annexationists and swallowers of territory, and their master with blazing implacable hatred and high revolutionary heroism.

The news of the victories won on the fronts of Ratanakiri, Mondulkiri, Kratie, East Zone and South West Zone, by the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, as well as the sublime and noble revolutionary heroism of the latter, who are determined to fight and to win victory over the Vietnamese enemy, have reached every day the Kampuchean nation and people. The whole nation, people and Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are filled with a high revolutionary pride towards their heroic comrades-in arms on these fronts. They have firm confidence in them, respect and admire their lofty revolutionary heroism. This heroism has been written in golden letters in the history of the defense of the continuing existence of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean nation against the Vietnamese enemy and their master.

Concretely, though they have mobilized their forces to invade and penetrate into the territory of Democratic Kampuchea, however deep it may be, the Vietnamese enemy, the Soviet expansionists and the Warsaw Pact are drowning in the immense movement of people's war in the whole of Kampuchea. In Ratanakiri, the people's war against the Vietnamese enemy is vigorously blazing up. In Mondulkiri, the heroic people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are mobilizing their forces to drive out and destroy the Vietnamese enemy. At the front of Kratie, we are fighting and cutting the enemy into pieces, wearing out and destroying their living forces every day. At the East Zone front, we are valiantly fighting against

the enemy. In the South West Zone, the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the heroic Kampuchean people are surrounding the enemy and destroying them piece by piece.

Facing such a struggle by the heroic Kampuchean people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, can the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact take possession and swallow up Kampuchea's territory? Can they annihilate the Kampuchean nation? Absolutely not. The Kampuchean nation and people resolutely refuse to kneel down in front of the Vietnamese enemy. The experiences in the history of Kampuchea's people as well as those in the history of the peoples throughout the world against aggressors have clearly proved this truth.

Beloved Comrades,
Beloved Compatriots,

The Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact are striving with might and main to take possession of Democratic Kampuchea. Do the Kampuchean nation and people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea allow the Vietnamese enemy to swallow Kampuchea's territory? Do they allow the Vietnamese enemy to annihilate the Kampuchean nation? We all together have determined firmly and definitely to keep raising aloft the banner of the Kampuchean nation, her independence, sovereignty in her territorial integrity and national honor and dignity and of the Kampuchean race, although we have to undergo many hardships and sacrifices.

Based on this firm conviction and on our successive experiences, we set up the conception, the position and the lines of struggle and defense of Democratic Kampuchea and Kampuchea's race as follows:

(1) Resolutely uniting with the whole Kampuchean nation and people to fight against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territory by destroying the

enemy's living forces and safeguarding our own to the maximum.

(2) Constantly endowing and strengthening the conception and the position of waging the people's protracted war for defending the territory and to win final victory.

In order to work out this historic task from one victory to another until the great total and definitive victory, we should:

(1) Constantly defend, build, develop and strengthen the Party at every level to make it be the vanguard, leading and fulfilling all tasks in full mastery of the situation under any circumstances.

(2) Carry on the tradition of safeguarding, building and developing and strengthening all the people's forces throughout the country based on the worker-peasant alliance. Along with this, we should unite with all Kampuchea's nationals living abroad. All the people of Kampuchea are determined not to become lackeys of the Vietnamese, not to lose their own nation, not to let the Vietnamese oppress, exploit and plunder them at their will. The Vietnamese enemy has increased and is increasing the contradictions between it and the whole Kampuchean nation and people. These contradictions are very deeply rooted and increasing more and more from day to day. So, the Vietnamese enemy is in the blazing flames of the national hatred of the whole Kampuchean nation and people. We are fully aware of the true nature of these basic, sharp and life and death contradictions.

(3) We should the whole time, defend, develop and strengthen the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and in a lively manner and with creativity carry out the line of people's war and the fighting line of the Party everywhere, under any

circumstances, in every form, so as to make the Vietnamese enemy fall into the lowest ditch by the forceful movement of our people's war.

(4) We should keep on strengthening and developing tremendous movement of production in all fields: agriculture, cottage industry and industry, so as to be the full master of food supplies and various commodities.

(5) In every zone and region, the revolutionary backing bases, new and old, should be further strengthened and developed so that we can carry on the protracted struggle in independence and sovereignty to a great extent.

(6) We must keep on uniting with all friends in the world, near or far, with all peoples and countries the world over who bring us their support in our struggle for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and stability of Democratic Kampuchea, of Southeast Asia, Asia and of the world as well.

Through these six above-mentioned factors, we perfectly see that the Vietnamese enemy is facing inextricable difficulties in all fields: military, political, economic, financial. Besides, in the international arena, they are extremely isolated and they will meet with more and more difficulties.

Therefore, the fact that the Vietnamese and the Soviet international expansionists and the Warsaw military Pact are splashing about in attacking us in a mad dash to tear up and break into Democratic Kampuchea, is but a plain passing parade. Indeed, they cause us temporary tactical difficulties. However, through the strategy of protracted people's war, with its six above-mentioned factors that we are relying on, the Vietnamese enemy will unfailingly and finally be defeated.

It is with the firm belief in our line, in our heroic people, in our Revolutionary Army, in our successive experiences, in the

historic world experiences, in the analysis of strong and weak points of the enemy and our own, for the time being and in the future, strategically and tactically, and being granted support to our just cause from friends and peoples and countries the world over, we clearly see that the Vietnamese enemy, the Soviet international expansionists and the Warsaw Pact could indeed make us undergo only temporary difficulties. But, in our prospect's strategic conception, we will certainly win. The Kampuchean nation, people, race, tradition, civilization will last forever.

—Long live the just and clearsighted Communist Party of Kampuchea!
—Long live the powerful Kampuchean revolution!
—Long live the great Kampuchean people!
—Long live the valiant and powerful Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!
—Long live glorious Democratic Kampuchea!

RADIO BROADCAST EXCERPTS (5 January 1979)

From "Hands Off Kampuchea!" *New Age*, no. 9 (February 1979).

Comrade Pol Pot made a radio speech on January 5th. He said that the Kampuchean nation and people have a lofty spirit of patriotism and a fine tradition of resisting enemies who tried to trample Kampuchea underfoot.

He point out that Vietnam had set all its forces in motion including its vast numbers of ground troops, along with tanks, canon and aircraft, to continue its invasion of Kampuchea. Vietnam was determined to exterminate the Kampuchean nation and people.

Comrade Pol Pot said that the heroism displayed by the Kampuchean army and people in resisting the aggressors deserves respect and honour. "This lofty revolutionary heroism should be written in gold letters in the annals of our struggle to defend our country."

Comrade Pol Pot stressed, "No matter how far the Vietnamese and Soviet expansionists drive their forces into our country they will inevitably be submerged in a sea of people's war waged by the Kampuchean people.

"In face of the valiant struggle of the armed forces and people of Kampuchea, Vietnam and the Soviet international expansionists will never be able to annex the country and exterminate the Kampuchean race. The Kampuchean nation and people will never kneel down before the Vietnamese enemy. We will for ever hold aloft the banner of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity."

Comrade Pol Pot put great emphasis on the need to consolidate and develop the party leadership at all levels so as to make the party a vanguard in accomplishing its tasks, which he summarised as follows:

> Continuously defend, build, consolidate and develop the people's forces throughout the country on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance; Unite with compatriots at home and abroad; Continuously build, consolidate and develop the revolutionary army and wage a people's war under the leadership of the party; strengthen and develop production on industry, agriculture and handicrafts to enable the people to have food and enough materials; consolidate both old and new revolutionary bases in all regions so as to carry out protracted war independently; Close ranks with all foreign friends both far and near.

Comrade Pol Pot went on to point out that the Vietnamese enemy is facing serious difficulties in the military, political, economic, financial and diplomatic fields. The Soviet international expansionists are trying hard to bolster Vietnam, "but," he said, "this can only solve its difficulties temporarily. From the viewpoint of the protracted people's war, the Vietnamese enemy will be doomed to failure in the end."

EXCERPT OF SPEECH (5 January 1979)

From "Viet Nam, Backed by USSR, Seizes Phnom Penh," *Unity* 2, no. 1 (12–25 Jan. 1979).

The Kampuchean people have vowed to keep fighting the Vietnamese and their puppets, and have taken up guerrilla war in the countryside. Premier Pol Pot stated on January 5, "The fighting will go on for eternity if necessary, until the aggressors have been completely defeated.''

STATEMENT FROM POL POT (11 January 1979)

From *United Nations General Security Assembly Council*, archived by the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) as document E3/528: https://archive.eccc.gov.kh/documents/2634856?title=D1.3.23.1&matterId=49

Dear Comrades,

Dear Compatriots,

The entire nation and people of Kampuchea for many generations inspired by sublime patriotism against the enemies from all quarters who again and again came to harm, invade and attack Kampuchea, have always united to fight together against all these enemies with the greatest bravery as a nation and people having a glorious fighting tradition, a lofty national civilization and noble heroism.

It is *as* a nation and people possessing this glorious tradition that they have always fought against Viet Nam's strategy of absorbing Kampuchea under its plan for an "Indo-Chinese Federation": during the past 40 years the Vietnamese enemy has been conducting its strategy of annexing and absorbing Kampuchea and unceasingly engaged in brutal or gentle, secret or overt, manoeuvers, intimidation, subversion, attempted coups d'etat, aggression and invasion. That enemy has relentlessly kept up these manoeuvers with the aim of carrying out its base criminal strategy. But that base criminal strategy of the Vietnamese enemy has repeatedly suffered the most severe, ignominious and bitter defeats.

Confronted with these major defeats during the past 42 years, particularly in 1977 and 1978, the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism, and the Warsaw Pact are again rushing into action, arrogantly, mobilizing all their infantry, tank, heavy artillery and airborne forces in considerable numbers to continue their invasion of Democratic Kampuchea, particularly since 25 December

1978, with the aim of destroying the nation and people of Kampuchea. However, the heroic people of Kampuchea and its heroic revolutionary army have struggled most valiantly as befits those who proudly march under the flag of the revolution of Kampuchea, the flag of the independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of glorious Democratic Kampuchea, the flag of the honour and dignity of the nation and people of Kampuchea, firmly resolved to fight the Vietnamese aggressor, the devourer, of their territory, and that enemy's master, with a burning and implacable hatred and most sublime heroism. News of victories gained on the Rattanakiri, Hondulkiri and Kratie fronts, in the easter and south-western regions, by the people and revolutionary army of Kampuchea and of their sublime and noble revolutionary heroism in their resolve to fight and vanquish the Vietnamese enemy are being received every day by the nation and people of Kampuchea. Those victories and that heroism create great revolutionary pride in the heroic fighters on those fronts among the whole nation, the whole people and the whole revolutionary army of Kampuchea, who firmly trust in them and admire their sublime revolutionary heroism. That heroism is engraved in letters of gold in the history of the defense and of the survival of Democratic Kampuchea, the nation of Kampuchea, against the Vietnamese enemy aggressor and its master.

In fact, the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact, having mobilized their forces to attack and invade the territory of Democratic Kampuchea and penetrate it as deeply as they could, have everywhere been overwhelmed by the immense movement of the people's war. In Rattanakiri, the people's war against the Vietnamese enemy has broken out violently and rapidly. At Mondalkiri the heroic people and revolutionary army of Kampuchea are together pursuing and annihilating the retreating Vietnamese enemy. On the Kratie front we are in the process of attacking and segmenting the enemy, weakening and destroying its forces day by day. On the eastern front we are counter-attacking valiantly. In the south-west the heroic revolutionary

army of Kampuchea and the heroic people of Kampuchea are encircling and annihilating the enemy, section by section.

Confronting the heroic people and heroic revolutionary army of Kampuchea in such a struggle, can the Vietnamese army, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact swallow up Kampuchea or can they not? Can they or can they not obliterate the nation of Kampuchea? Assuredly not. The nation and people of Kampuchea will never agree to bow down before the Vietnamese enemy. The experience which the people of Kampuchea has undergone throughout the history of its struggle and the experience of the peoples of the world in their struggle against aggressors have demonstrated that fact.

Dear Comrades,

Dear Compatriots,

The Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact are doing their very utmost to take over Democratic Kampuchea. Will the nation and the people of Kampuchea and its revolutionary army allow the Vietnamese enemy to devour Kampuchea? Will they allow the Vietnamese enemy to obliterate the nation of Kampuchea? We are, every one of us, firmly and unshakably determined to keep the flag of the nation of Kampuchea, the flag of independence, sovereignty, territory integrity, honour and national dignity, flying however great the obstacles to be surmounted and the sacrifices to be made may be.

Inspired by this unquenchable faith of ours and relying on our accumulated experience, we have established our plan, our position and our line of struggle for the defence of Democratic Kampuchea and of the nation of Kampuchea as follows:

First: to decide to mobilize all forces of the nation and the people for the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressor, the devourer of

territory, and to strive to attack and annihilate his forces and to preserve the maximum of ours.

Second: to assimilate and increasingly strengthen the plans and positions of the people's long-term war to defend the country and win the final victory.

Third: in order *to successfully*[18] complete these historic tasks and to score victory after victory until the total and final victory we must:

> (1) Constantly seek to defend, build up, strengthen and develop the Party as the leader at all levels so that it may be the vanguard which directs and accomplishes all tasks, while being master of the situation in all circumstances:
>
> (2) Continue the tradition of defending, safeguarding, building up, strengthening and developing the forces of the entire people throughout the country, on the basis of the alliance between worker and peasant and, at the same time, to unite with all our compatriots living abroad. The entire people of Kampuchea categorically refuses to be a slave of the Vietnamese, refuses to allow the nation to disappear, refuses to be exploited, oppressed and looted at the will of the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese enemy has exacerbated and is still exacerbating conflicts between it and the entire nation and people of Kampuchea. These conflicts are becoming deeper and sharper day by day. Thus the Vietnamese enemy lies in the crater of the volcano of the national hatred of the entire nation and people of Kampuchea. Every one of us clearly sees the true nature of that fundamental and acute antagonism:

[18] Editors: The original document reads "in order successfully to complete" which is less sensible to read so we have simply rearranged the two words "successfully" and "to" so as to split the infinitive as is spoken in natural English.

(3) Ensure that we take care of, defend, strengthen and develop at all times the revolutionary army of Kampuchea and creatively apply everywhere, in all circumstances, in all forms, the line of the people's war and our Party's line of struggle with a view to throwing the Vietnamese enemy into the abyss of the immense movement of our people's war:

(4) Ensure that we continue [to] strengthen and develop the great production movement in all fields, in agriculture, handicrafts and industry, so that we may master the problems of food stuffs and other supplies.

(5) All zones and regions must strive to strengthen and develop the old and new revolutionary support bases with a view to ensuring a long-term struggle in all independence and at a high level of sovereignty:

(6) Work for solidarity with all neighbouring and distant friends throughout the world, with all the peoples and countries of the world which give us aid and support in the struggle to defend the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and stability of Democratic Kampuchea and of South-East Asia, Asia and the world.

Consideration of these six factors shows us clearly that the Vietnamese enemy is experiencing serious difficulties in all spheres—military, political, economic and financial—that the enemy is facing isolation at the international level and will encounter even more serious difficulties.

Thus, the fact that the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact are rushing to launch a lightning attack on Democratic Kampuchea in order to invade it is merely a show of strength and can only be temporary. It can certainly cause us temporary difficulties at the tactical level but, confronted with our strategy of a long-term people's war, in which we shall rely on the six

factors outlined earlier, the Vietnamese enemy will surely and inevitably experience the final defeat.

It is with confidence in our line, in our heroic people of Kampuchea, in our heroic revolutionary army of Kampuchea, in our accumulated experience, in the experience of the history of the world, in the analysis of the strong and weak points of the enemy and our own—short-term and long-term, at the tactical and strategic levels—in the aid and support of our friends and of the people and countries of the world for our just cause, that we can clearly admit that the Vietnamese enemy, Soviet international expansionism and the Warsaw Pact are certainly causing us temporary difficulties. But, viewing the matter from the strategic point of view, we will certainly triumph. The nation of Kampuchea, the people of Kampuchea, the race of Kampuchea, the traditions of Kampuchea, the civilization of Kampuchea, will last forever.

Long live the just, far-sighted and glorious Communist Party of Kampuchea!

Long live the great revolution of Kampuchea!

Long live the great people of Kampuchea!

Long live the valiant and powerful revolutionary army of Kampuchea!

Long live glorious Democratic Kampuchea!

EXCERPT FROM PRESS COMMUNIQUE BY POL POT AND KHIEU SAMPAN (6–7 May 1979)

From *Discussion Bulletin* 7 (29 Oct 1979): 14.[19]

Being stricken by poverty and famine, they (the Vietnamese) themselves can do nothing else but despoil our people. Concretely speaking, during these last 4 months, they have plundered rice and cattle of our people.

[19] Editors: The *Discussion Bulletin* was published by the Red Eureka Movement.

EXCERPT FROM PRESS COMMUNIQUE BY POL POT ON RADIO (30 September 1979)

From "Voice of Democratic Kampuchea" printed in *Discussion Bulletin* 7 (29 Oct 1979): 14.

Millions of Kampuchean people have been starved and reduced to skin and bone.

DEPOSED POL POT GIVES INTERVIEW IN THE JUNGLE
(11 December 1979)

From Robert Whymant, *The Guardian* (11 Dec 1979)

Pol Pot, the deposed prime minister of Cambodia, is alive and well, according to a group of Japanese correspondents who met him at a jungle base close to the country's border with Thailand.

In the first interview since he was driven from Phnom Penh by Vietnamese-led forces in January, Pol Pot said that his resistance movement was fighting to save the Cambodian race, rather than for socialism. He told five Japanese newspaper and television reporters at the week-end that one-quarter of the country still owed allegiance to "democratic Kampuchea," as Cambodia was known during almost four years of rule by the Khmer Rouge.

He said his "government" controlled 50000 guerrillas opposing a 200000 strong Vietnamese occupation force backing the Heng Samrin Administration in Phnom Penh. "Vietnam is trying to complete its war of aggression during the present dry season" he said, "but is failing to accomplish its ambitions because of difficulties within Vietnam and fighting by our guerrillas who are spread like the meshes of a net in Kampuchea."

Pol Pot said the guerrillas under his command had kept "enemy troops stationary," and that his regime still had a complete network of contacts linking the whole country under his command. "If a certain place is attacked then we resort to the offensive in another place to keep enemy forces stationary."

Pol Pot said he was the top leader of the deposed regime in charge of political and military affairs, but he also said that he was allowing Khieu Samphan, the former president of Cambodia, and Ieng Sary, the former deputy prime minister to run the administration. He said Vietnam was trying to annihilate Cambodia and its people, and he demanded that Vietnam withdraw its troops as requested by the United Nations.

He was asked by the journalists to comment on reports of mass killings during his period of power. Pol Pot replied: “Our policy was to provide an affluent life for the people. There were mistakes made in carrying it out. Several thousand people may have died.” He added that Vietnam had also killed many Cambodians and had then blamed him.

Pol Pot said he was trying to create a national front at home and abroad, and was in contact with non-Communist nationalist groups like the “Khmer Serei” (free Khmer). He said he had also tried to enlist Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The Japanese reporters who spent Saturday and Sunday at Pot Pot’s guerrilla base said Pol Pot appeared to be in good health. Ieng Sary and his wife, Ieng Thirith, the former social affairs minister, were also present.

Britain withdrew recognition last Thursday from the remnants of the Pol Pot regime, though it has not recognised the pro-Hanoi administration in Phnom Penh.

INTERVIEW WITH POL POT (21 December 1979)

From *Peking Review* 22, no. 51 (21 Dec 1979): 25.

Kampuchean Prime Minister Pol Pot recently told Japanese reporters, "Viet Nam is trying to complete its war of aggression during the present dry season, but it is failing to accomplish its ambitions because of difficulties within Viet Nam and the fighting conducted by our guerillas who are spread like the meshes of a net within Kampuchea."

A group of Japanese reporters travelled on December 8 and 9 into the heartland of the Kampuchean guerilla resistance movement to have this rare interview with the Prime Minister. In good spirits, he replied to their questions. "We have a complete network of contacts linking the East, Central and West […] If a certain place is attacked, then we resort to the offensive in another place to keep enemy forces stationary. Viet Nam has poured 200000 men into Kampuchea and eight divisions are now bottled up in the eastern and northern parts of the country."

During the four-hour interview, Pol Pot noted that at present the Great National Patriotic and Democratic Union is Kampuchea's "supreme body." Its foremost task is to protect the nation and the people from extermination by Hanoi and its aim is to unite Kampuchean forces at home and abroad. He said that he is in contact with all elements including the Free Khmer and Khmer Serika and that he has contacted Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on several occasions.

The Prime Minister pointed out that his country enjoyed "the support of the majority of the countries of the world and the ASEAN countries in particular." Noting that the ASEAN countries are facing the threat of Vietnamese aggression, he said that "the Southeast Asian countries and those in the Pacific region are well aware that it would be wrong to pursue an appeasement policy when the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are waging a full-scale war in Kampuchea."

Pol Pot also gave another interview to Per Forslind, a correspondent for the Swedish paper *Svenska Dagbladet*, during which he stressed that Viet Nam is trying to annihilate the whole of the Kampuchean nation with a view to turning Kampuchea into a springboard for further expansion in Southeast Asia. He cited Hanoi's use of toxic chemicals as one example of its efforts to wipe out the three-million-strong Kampuchean nation.

POL POT ON INTELLECTUALS AS REPORTED BY KHIEU SAMPHAN, IENG SARY, NI KAN, AND HAO NAM HONG
(29 February 1980)

From ECCC document archived as E3/1609.
https://archive.eccc.gov.kh/documents/1057592?title=E3/1609&matterId=49

In October 1978, there was a seminar on education, the purpose of which was to get some intellectuals to be teachers in the new education system which was to include a university. The leaders of the seminar were Pol Pot, Von Vet, Khieu Samphan and Thiounn Mumm. Pol Pot himself spoke. He seemed to be a very good speaker, cogent and coherent. He seemed to be very well-versed in the details of Western educational systems and made good comparisons between the various systems. He said that the reason we intellectuals had become ideologically confused was not that something was inherently wrong with us, but because of the problems in social structure in the old society. We noticed that this analysis seemed different from what he said in an earlier speech, in which he said that a healthy mother produces a healthy child, a good class background produces a good person.

The students in the education system were all supposed to be proletarians or persons who had made themselves into proletarians. It did not matter whether they had any educational background or not. In ten years, they were supposed to be able to go from illiteracy to university graduates as engineers. This was supposed to be done by studying only important things and through plenty of practice. He admitted that this was just experimental, and might need to be rectified in the future. His manner in the speech was polite and respectful. At the end of the speech, he asked whether anyone had anything to say. But no one said anything. So he said, “Think about what I said and go home and discuss it,” and “either send me your personal suggestions or have your chairman send me summary

reports.” We were instructed by the cadres to keep all of this a strict secret, not to tell anybody.

EXCERPTS FROM POL POT UNREPENTANT (30 October 1997)

From Nate Thayer, *Far Eastern Economic Review* (30 Oct 1997).

"I came to carry out the struggle, not to kill people," he rasps, his voice almost a whisper. He pauses, fixing his interviewer with an almost pleading expression. "Even now, and you can look at me, am I a savage person? My conscience is clear."

"I do not reject responsibility—our movement made mistakes, like every other movement in the world. But there was another aspect that was outside our control—the enemy's activities against us. I want to tell you, I'm quite satisfied on one thing: If we had not carried out our struggle, Cambodia would have become another Kampuchea Krom in 1975," he says, referring to the Mekong Delta region, seized by Vietnam from the Khmer empire in the 17th century.

"You know for the other people, the babies, the young ones, I did not order them to be killed. For Son Sen and his family, yes. I feel sorry for that. That was a mistake that occurred when we put our plan into practice. I feel sorry. You asked me to say something." Then he says abruptly: "Now I want to talk about the present situation in Cambodia."

Asked whether he wanted to apologize for the suffering he caused, he looks genuinely confused, has the interpreter repeat the question, and answers: "No." "We had no other choice. Naturally we had to defend ourselves," he says. "The Vietnamese... wanted to assassinate me because they knew without me they could easily swallow up Cambodia."

But Pol Pot reveals that distrust between the two communist movements dates back to at least 1970, when Le Duan and other Vietnamese leaders tried to persuade him to take nominal command

of a combined Cambodian-Vietnamese-Laotian army to fight the American-backed governments in Phnom Penh and Saigon. “Le Duan and Le Duc Tho, they told us: ‘You don't have to fight. You should wait until the Vietnamese victory then the Vietnamese will come and liberate you’,” Pol Pot says.

Instead, he raced to beat the Vietnamese to victory. He says that by capturing Phnom Penh on April 17, two weeks before the communist victory in Saigon, the KR saved Cambodia from Vietnamese communist occupation. And immediately, he contends, he took steps to balance Vietnamese influence in Cambodia. “In May 1975, I sent my foreign minister to Thailand because I knew that the east is very savage... what I wanted was to have a friend in the West. Vietnam was furious at me.”

TRANSCRIPTION OF SECTION OF VIDEO INTERVIEW WITH NATE THAYER (1997)

From Nate Thayer's memorial for Pol Pot, which is viewable on YouTube.[20]

Pol Pot [via interpreter]: I think that you can raise all the questions at one time. Up to you. You can place one question, one after the other, or raise all the questions.

Thayer: First of all as you well know most of the world thinks that you are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of innocent Cambodians who didn't deserve to suffer. Do you feel that you were indeed responsible for crimes against humanity against your own people?

Pol Pot: I would like to say first that my conscience is clear. Everything I have done and have continued to do is first for the nation and for the people and for the red Cambodian.

Nate Thayer: Your last senior comrades, the top standing committee, has rejected you. I interviewed [various names] who has also condemned you, does that make you sad that your top [or?] last loyalists have in fact condemned you politically?

Pol Pot: Everyone has to act. But for me I feel that I made mistakes but there is notice that I made contributions. But whatsoever, I'm over. The order, they have the duty to do their utmost to save Cambodia.

Nate Thayer: If you could do anything different in your life, if you could change something that you did, redo history, what would it be?

[20] Can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5V7ZU0It2Vs (beg. Min. 45:40).

Pol Pot: No.

Nate Thayer: You would do nothing different?

Pol Pot: No I am not going to do like I did before. Since like in 1975 I perceived the problems, that is why I sent my foreign minister to Thailand. You know I think about that. Soon after the Vietnamese invasion, we had the program for the front. We renounced communism, we renounced the communist party.

Nate Thayer: Did you really renounce Communism or was it a tactical move?

Pol Pot: It is not a tactical move because the life of the nations and the people command us to do so. We had to mobilize the national forces and we had to mobilize the support of the work community. We realize that um… I went abroad and we established relations with the persons abroad and everybody talks about that. They asked me whether I carry out this [word unintelligible but seemingly an "order?"] or not and I told them that yes, I had to carry out this [same word]. If not, then I would have no nation. Secondly, we had to rely on you. And we are not going back to the old regime. Not only me but everybody thinks that way.

Nate Thayer: What would you like to say to Cambodians who live in other parts of Cambodia not under the control of Democratic Kampuchea.

Pol Pot: If you give me opportunity to make some clarification. To stress that first I devote my life to contribute to construction from the bottom of my heart. To work for the nation, the people, and to the rank and file. That is the first thing. The second thing is that when we put our policy into practice, there are two aspects. First our movement like all movements around the world, we were quite young, to say so. But we have also been put… pressure was put on us. We had to settle

them little by little. But in the settlement of that problem a mistake was committed. I admit for that. I also admit when I wrote that off. Anyone has the right to accuse me on that. For me what I feel sorry is that I do not have enough experience to muster for this tradition. I know the aspect is that I made contribution and that contribution with the population, with the people, with the rank and file, to prevent Cambodia from becoming part of Vietnam.

APPENDIX: OUTLINE OF BIOGRAPHY OF POL POT
(September 1978)

From *Biography of Comrade Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea*. Phnom Penh: Department of Press and Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Kampuchea, Sept. 1978.

[Document is missing first page]

II. Participation in the Movements of Patriotic and Revolutionary Struggle

He has progressively got the patriotic consciousness and the feelings of love for the people as well as the hatred for the nation's and people's enemies.

> —through the accounts on the patriotic struggles waged during the French aggression before World War II,
> —by reading various progressist books.

1940–1948: During he was studying, he took part in underground activities to organize groups of patriotic youth against the French and Japanese.

1949–1952: He took part in founding Marxist-Leninist groups among pupils and students and in the movement of struggle against the French colonialists.

1953–1954: He participated in the armed struggle in the maquis as fighter charged with the task of cooking and production works.

1954–1960: He was responsible for the revolutionary work in Phnom Penh and a part of the countryside. He took

part in the responsibilities for the work among pupils, students and intellectuals, among workers and city labourers, among monks and patriotic personalities.

1957–1959 He participated in the Committee in charge of elaborating the Party's political line and statutes and of preparing the First Congress of the Party for the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

1960: He has been elected member of the Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee by the First Congress of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (September).

1961: He was Deputy Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.

1963: He was elected Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee by the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

1963–1967: Activities in the countryside: he participated in creating the revolutionary bases, in creating .and organizing the underground guards and guerilla forces. He participated in starting the peasants' revolutionary struggle movements under all forms of struggle and by using the revolutionary violence, in parallel direction with the revolutionary struggle in the cities.

1968–1970:[21] He was also Secretary of the Northeastern Zone and at the same time participated in leading the guerilla war waged against the counter-revolutionary repression

[21] Editor's Note: March 1970.

war of the traitors clique's Lon Nol, lackeys of the US imperialists.

1970–1975 He was appointed again Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea by the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (September 1971).

Chairman of the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the Party.

He received the direct responsibilities of the affairs of the Party and of the military affairs.

Chairman of the Command Committee of the military fronts all over the country.

From 1976 up to Now:

He has been appointed Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea by the Communist Party of Kampuchea's Fourth Congress (January 1976).

Chairman of the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the Party.

Responsible for the economic affairs and the work in the countryside.

III. Temper

He has a large spirit of union;

Shows revolutionary optimism;

Is deeply and firmly confident in the people, the masses, especially in the poor peasants; Likes to live and work in the calm.